438 where these two rivers meet." As a further proof of
463 the division of labor there has been pointed out the fact that in some areas many stone tools have been unearthed while in other areas no traces of them have been found.[33] There seems to have been no division of labor within a group although those who were more skilled in certain work would spend more time on it than the others—for the benefit of the others. In the *Watarishima Hikki* there is this passage, "There was
[208] much difference in skill in making *Torikabuto* poison [aconite] . . . they used poison prepared by those in the villages with a reputation for making it." However, aside from the distinction between the sexes, division of labor was negligible. The economic life of the Ainu in the age which is under review in this book had the various characteristics of a stage which (owing to outside influence, particularly that of the Japanese) had advanced from one of mere hunting and fishing.

2. SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

● (21
361 The Ainu society was a small one. The *Ezo Sōshi* [The Book of Ezo] says that, "The villages in Ezo consist of five to seven houses. Those with more than ten houses are considered large." While vol. 2 of *Ezo Zakki Yakusetsu* [Miscellany on Ezo] contains a report by a Dutch vessel which came to Hokkaidō in 1643, "The most I have seen so far are twenty houses. The average village has six or seven to eleven houses. The distance between villages was one-half ri." As a matter of fact, according to an investigation carried out between 1789 and 1803, when Etorofu came into our power, among six areas of twenty-five villages there were none with over twenty houses, very few with over one hundred people and, at times, there were villages of no more than one house.[34] The villages were called *Kotan* and, judging from the fact that the Ainu had no word equivalent to *Kuni* or *Gun* it seems that their group life concept did not extend beyond the village. Their small villages were located along the seashore or on rivers where game was abundant and life convenient but their dependence on natural sources of food compelled them to change their quarters frequently as they followed game. The *Ezo Sōshi* remarks,

> Although the natives of Ezo possessed their own houses, they never lived at the same place all their lives. Whenever the game was more abundant in other parts of the country they would abandon their houses and carry their belongings to the new land, build another, and settle down. Such was the custom of the Ezo. Moreover, if there were places where fishing or hunting was more promising, according to the season of the year, they did not remain in one place, even for a year. They moved with the game and were therefore without a permanent home.

[33] Shiota Takichi, Hokkaidō ni okeru Senshi Jūmin no Fūzoku Shūkan (Customs and habits of the prehistoric people of Hokkaidō), *TJZ* 30 (206).
[34] *Kondō Seisai Zenshū* 1: 29.

[P. 16 (B)]

621 361 The *Ezo Shima Ki* [Record of Ezo Island] confirms this: "They lived in villages near the sea or river. Whenever fish, birds, or animals became scarce they would abandon their village and settle elsewhere where game could be found and it seems that they never remained in any one place." However, they did not move as a nomadic people and they can be considered migratory only in comparison with a settled agricultural people. They stayed in one place during the winter [166] and probably moved to another area to work during the fishing season. This can be seen by the fact that the Ainu in the northern Kuriles lived on the three islands, Shimushu, Paramushiri, Rashowa, and had fishing areas on nearby islands.[35] During the winter the Ainu hibernated and the villages which outsiders came across were probably secondary villages built for the summer working season or permanent non-winter villages. There is interesting material in the remains of their hibernating areas. An investigation of the Kamikawa region showed several scores or hundreds of semi-underground houses formerly used as dwellings scattered around the palisaded house of the chief and the scene resembled a large community with a common cemetery.[36] In the *Sankō Ezo Nikki* [Record of a third trip to Ezo] of Matsuura Takeshirō there is a description of such a village in Kunashiri.[37] This is all reminiscent of the villages which appear in their epics and suggests much of interest in regard to the structure of communities. Yet in order to take this as evidence that Ainu villages were once larger than they are today it is necessary to prove that all of the caves of the district were of the same period. The archaeological evidence which we do have indicating the existence of [172] common cemeteries hints that the Ainu had family communities, but the villages of which we have knowledge were more complicated and included, besides kinsmen, people from other villages. While a large village had as its core a group of kinsmen in the narrow sense, it was generally made up of more than two family 622 groups.[38] Each village had its chief. In *Ezo Shima Ki* 192 this is referred to thus: "There was no leader of the whole island of Ezo but a leader to each village and he is usually called *Otona*." But *Otona* was a name used by the Japanese to denote those chiefs who had submitted to them and in the *Watarishima Hikki* it says: "Each village had its leader who was called *Bankin-*

[35] Torii Ryūzō, *Chishima Ainu* (The Ainu of the Kuriles), 70 ff.

[36] Abe Masami, Hokkaidō no Chashi (The forts of Hokkaidō) *Jinruigaku Zasshi* (*JZ*) 33: 66 ff.

[37] *Sankō Ezo Nikki* 2. "Diary of Kimura Shikyō, entry of July 9. Stayed overnight at the home of Chief Ikorikayani. There are 28 to 29 houses for servants and wives and concubines and *Utare*. Wives and concubines lived on the flat land at the foot of a mountain 15 or 16 cho from the sea while *Utare* lived further down to the shore."

[38] Through recent studies of *Ekashitoppa* [ancestral personal marks] and *Ekashishiroshi* [proofs of ancestry] possessed by the Ainu there is some indication that the former indicates lineage and the latter family but further study is required.

[P. 17 (A)]

622 major chiefs in Karafuto.[43] The "Group of Five" mentioned in the *Kankoku Roku* [Record of a Journey] who received privileges above other chiefs were probably these major chiefs.

Chief Tobitake of Shikotsu, who is said to have had two hundred retainers,[44] and Chief Shikunofu of Nosshappu,[45] who commanded several hundred people, were undoubtedly supreme chiefs. Shagushain of Shibuchari, Onibishi of Saru, Haukase of Ishikari, and Ikotoi of Akkeshi who are known historically were not only chiefs of villages but major chiefs controlling several villages in a district. Some of these men may have acquired their positions by force but the majority of them came [628] to power because of their lineage. But since cooperation among villages was rare, the major chiefs, aside from leading joint worship and settling intervillage disputes, actually had power over only their own particular home village. The village was the basis of ● 621 Ainu life. The chief was the central figure of the village and his duties were grave and serious ones. 622 Besides presiding over death and marriage ceremonies he had an important voice in settling disputes, in the punishment of violaters of the law, and he preserved order in the village. As director of the hunting and fishing and supervisor of the communal property, he was the guarantor of the economic security of the village.[46] As representative of the village he conducted extra-village affairs, was the commander in battle and the agent representing the village in trade negotiations. A village chief, required, in addition to a noble lineage, the qualities of intelligence and courage. He had to have a thorough knowledge of the legends of the village, cleverness in negotiation, eloquence of speech, wealth, and the character to enable him to carry out his duties. Being a chief would not have been difficult had the task been confined to ruling over a simple and isolated communal society, but as the Ainu village system became more complex and as contact and negotiation with the outside world became more frequent the simple attribute of respected descent was not sufficient to enable a man [554] to rule and it became necessary that men with ability become chief. This change is seen in the *Watarishima Hikki*: "The family of the *Otona* was hereditary. However, the chief was selected from that family according to ability regardless of whether or not he was an illegitimate child." When an heir was considered to be deficient in the abilities needed by a chief a council of elders chose another man from a group of kinsfolk who had ability. In such cases the original heir retained the right to preside over religious ceremonies.

592 As time passed the Ainu village lost its communal aspect and the major economic unit became the family with the father as head. This family unit consisted of

[43] Aoyama Kisaro, *Kyokuhoku no Bessekai* (The new world of the Far North), 26 ff.
[44] *Ezo Dan Hikki*.
[45] *SHS* 2: 303.
[46] *Hokkaidō Kyūdojin*, 5.

592 [591] man and wife and their unmarried children. The married children left their parents and made a new family unit. Again referring to the *Watarishima Hikki*, "The eldest son, after reaching maturity, would take a wife and live separately from his parents, the other [928] children also following suit. When the father died the son who was still living in his father's house succeeded him as head of the family." In the *Etorofu Shi* [History of Etorofu] we find, "In accordance with their ages they would wed as they reached maturity and live apart from their parents or even before marriage as they desired." In a hunting and fishing economy the members of a family were few in number. When the number of houses in a village exceeded the productive capacity of the neighborhood the new households moved to another area and another village was founded. Quite frequently neighboring villages joined with each other through marriage between villages.[47] Most marriage was between relatives and, although the general custom was that parental consent be given, there were marriages made by sale or by abduction. Divorce was not difficult to obtain if sufficient reasons were given. [586] However, both marriage and divorce required the approval [622] of the chief. The Ainu family system was patriarchal, the wife having a low status. For example, she was [562] strictly forbidden to utter her husband's name.[48] She could not worship God directly by herself.[49] She had to refrain from speaking directly to any male guest.[50] [839] In cases of adultery the man was relieved of any responsibility if he could prove that the woman had been the one who proposed the act, but in any case the woman was severely punished.[51] The affairs of the family were run by the father and as long as his family problems did not come into conflict with the interests of his relatives or his village he was at liberty to do as he pleased. The chief was, within his own family, not a chief but a family head. While the Ainu villages remained in a primitive communal state, there [621] seems to have been no economic difference between the families composing the village but, with the development of family units, differences in wealth did spring up according to the labor capacity of each family, the [567] basic difference being the number of wives and slaves possessed. It has been said that the Ainu were polygamous. The *Ezo Zakki Yakusetsu*, vol. 2, states that 595 a man usually had many wives: "One man had two wives . . .," while *Ezo Dan Hikki* [Notes of Conversations on Ezo] notes: "A single man had four or

[47] *Sapporo Kushi*, 156.

[48] Hokkaidō chō, *Kyūdojin ni kan suru chōsa* (Inquiry into the aborigines), 65.

[49] *Ibid.* Also *Hokkaidō Kyūdojin*, 8.

[50] "She was bashful and refrained from speaking to a *Shamo* (a Japanese) keeping her eyes on the ground. If an Ainu were there she would ask him to speak for her." *Igen Zokuwa*.

[51] "When a woman seduced a man and succeeded, the man took off the woman's earring. When accused the man would show the ring and be set free and the woman alone would be punished." *Ezo Dan Hikki*.

power of the village was insufficient to cope with the problem. This is discussed in *Ezo Miyage* in part as follows: "A chief or a person proficient in speech would act as arbitrator, give his decision and make the parties come to a peaceful settlement, he even, at times, offering goods of his own. Therefore, up to now, disputes have never been taken to the Matsumae for trial."

4. SUMMARY

The life of the Ainu, at the time the Japanese were beginning to exert control in Hokkaidō, was not as primitive as might be assumed but was instead comparatively advanced and included division of labor. Economically the Ainu had passed the hunting and fishing stage and were moving into the agricultural or cattle-raising stage. They were engaging in foreign trade as the family became an economic unit and the communal economy of village life dissolved. In the regulatory sense the chief was a political figure and the Ainu village was no more than a body of kinsfolk evolving into a local organization. The original state of Ainu society has been assumed to be a group of a small number of families centering around the chief family, all of which originated, presumably, from a common couple. Each family was led by the head of that family while each group of families was headed by an elder who was usually the eldest member of the head family of a village unit. The Ainu lived where it was most convenient. When the number of people in a village group increased in excess of the number that could be supported by their local production the group would split up and a part or parts of it would move as a new group or groups to other parts of the country. As the geographical scope widened, the relation between the mother village and the scattered villages became less intimate and each village tended to take on more of a local color and less of that of the parent village. At the same time it became more difficult to control a village through kinsfolk relationships. It became so that a leader needed more than lineage. During this period it seems to me that the most significant event among the Ainu was their growing contact with outsiders especially trade relationships. Contact with outsiders not only introduced more highly developed methods of production but made possible the accumulation of wealth. Those superior in trade or production gradually became economically dominant and an imbalance of wealth replaced the old communal life. Those with large families, having the greatest labor supply, became the wealthiest. This was particularly true of the chiefs. It is interesting to read the following passage from the *Watarishima Hikki:*

> Once a woman becomes a servant or a mistress all the members of her family become members of the chief's family and, although it was then the duty of the chief to support them, they all worked for the chief in hunting, fishing, and gathering grass. There was no private property among families and, therefore, those with many mis-

A F *C48 *I75 656

30, 1789, written by Shimonokuni no Toneri and Ujieshimbei and addressed to the clan's expeditionary force in Ezo it says:[82]

> Notice has been given that the Ezo, regardless of where they may live, are to pay annual visits to the lord. This information is to be given to the contractors. After informing the contractors, instruct the chiefs and all Ezo to observe their annual visits to the lord. Furthermore, add that no special preparations for gifts are to be made.

Thus the expeditionary troops tried to make the natives visit the Lord Matsumae but aside from those Ezo who rendered service in suppressing the 1789 incident there is no record left showing that any Ezo did come to Matsumae.

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On the other hand there is evidence that the village government system improved. In *Higashi Ezo Dōchū Ki* [Journal of a Voyage in Eastern Ezo] are listed the names of Ezo for positions as *Otona*, *Waki Otona*, and *Kozukai* in each village. These were called the *Sanyaku* or "three posts" with the *Otona* as village head, the *Waki Otona* as his assistant and the *Kozukai* as the one who physically carried out the orders of the *Otona*. A village was governed by these three although there were many small villages without a *Waki Otona*. It would seem then that in the years after the 1789 incident the Matsumae clan realized the importance of governing the Ezo and made some improvements in the government of that island. This was done, needless to say, to satisfy the Bakufu and therefore the improvements were only in form and not in reality. Furthermore, in the years that followed, a number of significant events took place as follows:

A F *C48 *I75

1. In 1791 and 1792 the relief trade was conducted by officials of the Bakufu in Akkeshi, Kiritappu and Sōya.

2. In 1792 and 1793 the Russian envoy Laxman arrived.

3. In 1796 and 1797 foreign vessels came to port at Etomo Misaki. And in 1798, amidst a confused national situation, the Bakufu issued an order bringing East Ezo under its direct control which ended the Matsumae regime. Thus the Bakufu took over where the Matsumae left off and established a firm system of management in Ezo.

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5. SUMMARY

The island of Ezo provided for the Yamato race an arena for their colonial activities in the modern period. First as a commercial colony, when the settlers, in order to obtain the rare products of the northern seas, came into trade contact with the natives, gradually expanded their trade, and with this expansion increased their footholds on the island. Actually the Matsumae area itself developed as a base of operations and the growth in power of that clan was due to the fact that it occupied that area which served as a funnel for commerce and it

[82] *Kansei Ezo Ran. . . .*

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ished and two judges were appointed in their place and in May of 1802 the Hakodate Magistracy was set up. In March of 1808 the Matsumae clan was relieved of all its territories in Ezo which were then brought under the Bakufu and, after moving the office of the Magistrate to Fukuyama, that office was renamed the Matsumae Magistracy. Four officials were in the office at Fukuyama while at Hakodate an Office for Investigation and Management was established. This system continued until 1821 when the Matsumae clan was restored to its former rule. Although changes in the names of officials and the scope of their jurisdiction had occurred, both the Commission and Magistracy were under the Council of State and thus they had jurisdiction over all affairs within their territories. Under the system of Commissioners there were such officials as Supervisors in charge of Ezo, Chief Treasurer, Treasurer, Auditor, Branch Treasurer, Traveling Inspector, Chief Constructor, Constructor and Field Inspectors, while under the Magistracy were the Branch Managers, Branch Investigators, and the Police Officers. The Magistrate and the Inspector sat alternately in Edo and Hakodate (or Fukuyama). Disregarding the post of Commissioner, since it was only a temporary office, we find that the offices and duties under the Magistracy are similar to the administrative pattern followed in such remote areas as Nagasaki and Sado. So the Bakufu did not set up any special administrative system in the Ezo colony.

Administration rested with the Commissioner or Magistrate and at important points offices were established where one or two officials called Resident Officers were stationed. To these posts were appointed constables or policemen. A Resident Officer was in charge of several *Basho* and his subordinates supervised the managers and interpreters employed in these *Basho* who engaged in trade with the Ezo, and they propitiated and educated the natives.

From time to time the Magistrate himself or an inspector went on tour. Although the order of 1799 laid down the general principles of a native policy, details had been left up to officials on the spot. Therefore, the executive officer of administration was the Resident along with the interpreters and guards, the latter two having been the executives prior to the new system. As this governmental system became established and stabilized, so did the society of the Ezo. We have already mentioned that in the earlier period there was some regulation of Ezo organization owing to mainland influence, and it is seen in the appointment of chiefs and influential people as *Otona* and *Kozukai*. Now the Bakufu in order to enforce its regulations thought it necessary to change this Ezo organization.

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For example, on Etorofu, which island the Bakufu viewed with concern, a system similar to that of the Japanese village was set up. The common Ezo who had been called *Utare* were renamed *Murakata* [villagers] while the name *Otona* was changed to *Nanushi* [Village headman].

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[622]

[P. 56 (B)]

[village headman]. But in most places the Ezo system was left unchanged. The exception was in areas where the authority of local officials had become so definite that it was necessary to establish new positions to govern effectively the Ezo of the area. Therefore, the titles of *Sō Otona*, *Waki Otona*, and *Sō Kozukai* were created in addition to the existing *Otona* and *Kozukai* and these posts were given to Ezo of noble birth. The *Sō Otona* was the leader of the Ezo within a *Basho*. To this post a person from the most powerful family was appointed. The orders of the government were delivered to the *Sō Otona* for the Ezo. The Ezo appealed to the *Sō Otona* those matters which could not be settled by an *Otona* and only such matters as could not be settled by the *Sō Otona* were brought before the officials.[9] The *Sō Kozukai* had duties similar to those of the *Kozukai* of a village except that he was the *Kozukai* of a *Basho*. While a man's family background was considered in making appointments to this post because of the nature of his duties, it was given to a person with the ability to control his fellows. Another position established was that of *Miyagedori* [gift bearer] who was an ordinary native either physically strong or with a good conduct record. He acted as *Kozukai* for contractors or as guide for officials and travelers and he inspected the exchange of gifts.[10] According to the *Ezo Miyage* this was a post next in rank to *Otona* and *Kozukai* and although the *Miyagedori* received equal treatment and gifts at an *Omusha* it seems that he had no duties similar to those of *Otona* or *Kozukai*. It is probable that this post was awarded to ordinary Ezo or to those who had retired from the position of *Otona* or *Kozukai* and those who held it received privileges equal to those of the other ranks.

4. APPENDIX

INSTRUCTIONS TO THE EZO, JUNE 16, 1799

At this meeting a package of tobacco and some sake shall be served to the Ezo and the interpreter will deliver the following instructions.

1. The *Basho* concerned has been taken over by the Bakufu since May 5. Instructions given from that time by the officer placed in charge must be obeyed without delay.

2. It goes without saying that during the period of Bakufu management full respect is due all government officials whether stationed in Ezo or on tour.

The Ezo will obey the orders of managers, guards, and interpreters as they did during the reign of the Matsumae.

No petition shall be presented directly to government officials. It will not be accepted. Instructions from managers, interpreters, and guards are to be treated as instructions from officials. However, if there is any doubt concerning such orders, it may be brought to the attention of officials who, according to the issue, may take necessary steps.

It should be noted that it is very inconvenient not to understand Japanese since the interpreters may make mis-

[9] Tarao Tadaro, *Chishima Tanken Jikki* (Kurile Islands expedition reports), 73.

[10] *Tsuishikari Sanshi* (History of Tsugaru village), 17-18.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
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CHAPTER VI

THE VILLAGE COMMUNITY

"Before the tremendous shock of present day civilization, with all its harassing worries, vexatious rules, unbending laws, burdensome taxes, and crowds of immigrants, came upon us," say the Ainu, "our fathers had an easy time of it, without care and anxiety, and lived in quiet contentment and general happiness. But now all is change and the struggle for existence is wiping us out!" Poor fellows, they feel it sadly, notwithstanding all the protection and sympathy they are now getting.

According to ancient tradition, the Ainu people never had a monarchy. The elders of the race divided the government among the inhabitants of the separate villages, thus making each village community a small semi-independent state. And it seems to have worked well. The elders of each village assembled, I was told, and chose a chief and two sub-chiefs to manage the general affairs of the people, the women also being in attendance when such were being chosen. The principal chief, or, in the case of his absence, one of the sub-chiefs, was present at funerals to assist in burying the dead, or at marriages to signify his consent and cheer the young couple with his good wishes, or to assist in dividing up the meat or fish brought in by the hunters and fishermen.

The chiefs, together with the people, including the women, made the laws and sat in judgment upon the law-breakers. There were no law codes or clearly defined prescriptive rights, for the Ainu had no script.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

The punishment of minor offences and recognized crime was left pretty much to the injured individual and community.

It was the duty of the principal chief to lead the people in hunting, fishing, and fighting, in conjunction with the sub-chiefs, and to take a prominent part in the national bear festival. He had to attend to the division of the land among his people, to point out to each woman her garden plot, to visit the sick, settle disputes, pronounce sentence on the guilty, and name children. All trials took place in public, and unless the assembled elders of the people assented to the decision of the chief, his judgment was void. This was sometimes practised in secret by the people when I first went among them. That they had recognized advocates to assist in disputes will be seen further on.

In so far as the Hokkaidō Ainu were concerned, in very remote times, and in very small villages, the chief authority was naturally vested in the head of the family, though in Saghalien the mother had a great deal to say in the matter, even taking a higher place than her husband. The husband and father, in Hokkaidō, could do pretty much as he pleased with his wives and children. He could, for example, divorce any or all of his wives or disinherit his children. He could punish any member of his family as he thought proper. But, notwithstanding this, it was thought to be better form for him to consult his chiefs and companions in these matters.

How this came to be so was explained to me in this way. Suppose any single individual or family should move away from all friends and build a house in the wilds at some distance from any village, as was sometimes the case in Hokkaidō, this would become the nucleus of a new village. Such a settlement would naturally come under the rule of the father, who, as new huts were built near him for the accommodation of his sons as they got married, remained head of the

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
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growing clan. Then, as old age came on, he retired and his eldest son acted more and more in his stead and at his death naturally succeeded him as head of the community. Then as the years passed by and the community increased in numbers, the whole village, of course, wished to have something to say in matters affecting any one of them, because each household was related to every other. A person could not, therefore, touch any member of his own family without giving offence to every other individual in the village. A kind of republican or community government, for this reason, became a necessity.

When I came first among them, the people had no large buildings set apart as clubs, temples, or assembly rooms. That they had no temples does not mean that they had no religion, for what has been written in these chapters proves them to have been exceedingly religious. When there was a meeting to be held they assembled in the chief's hut. I have come across a word which is very interesting and seems to imply a community house and would be, most likely, the original home of the first chief and his family of sons and their wives. The word is a compound, *Kotan-uni*, and this means literally "Village-home," and carries one back to very olden times. If "Assembly-room" or "house" had been intended, the word *uni*, "home," would not have been used, but quite another one, namely, *chisei*, "house." "Village Home" is very beautiful and very suggestive.

There was also a paramount chief of a whole district who was called in to help at very important meetings—such meetings as took into consideration trespassing from one district or clan upon another's recognized domains. When there was intertribal or other war to be made, such chiefs were the generals of the various army clans.

When going on trading expeditions, also, it was the chief's place to take the lead. In early times it is

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

their quarrels and difficulties, which they are asked to settle. Thus, because of these qualities necessary for the office, these chiefs are a slightly superior type to the other natives; for with savages, as with civilised people, sharp-witted, strong, and brave men are naturally of a finer type than those who are their inferiors in these qualities: but the difference among the best Ainu and the worst is so small that I do not feel justified in classing chiefs as of a different caste. Besides, exceptional beauty, strength, or larger stature is not necessarily transmitted in the families of chiefs, nor do the Ainu themselves consider them better-looking than others.

As Ainu laws of marriage have no relation to the physical and moral improvement of the race, the only way of classifying the natives for purposes of heredity is by tribes, each village being considered as a tribe. Ainu villages are generally very small, and the inhabitants of each village intermarry among themselves, therefore each member of the community is in some way related to every other member; hence heredity in certain physical traits, mental qualities, and diseases shows itself in one community and not in another. The difficulty of tracing the exact connection of each individual with his or her relations beyond the acknowledged father and mother also baffles research in more minute details. Abnormal formations are sometimes transmitted to many members of one tribe, as, for instance, the hare-lip and webbed fingers, of which deformities two or three specimens could be found in a small village numbering fifteen or twenty houses. Malformation of the umbilicus is common—sometimes in almost every member of one small community—while it is very rare in others. Children are mostly affected by this, as in some villages the cord is not treated at all at birth; and this leads to an abnormality till the child grows older, when the few who survive seem to get all right. In other villages the cord is fastened in a very primitive, not to say imperfect, manner, with a common string of *Ulmus campestris* fibre.

Albinism is very uncommon among the Ainu. I do not know of any case when it has been transmitted, as albinos are greatly disregarded by the Ainu, and, I was told, seldom marry.

Red hair, or hair with red shades in it, is common among

6: Sugiura & Befu E-4, 5 (1951) 1962
AB6 Ainu AB6

porated into the group. Such a newcomer gave "man's treasure" (*ekashi korpe*)—the nature of which is not clear—and other objects as compensation at his initiation ceremony. It is said that there used to be villages in which all the male residents belonged to a single descent group. A newcomer to such a village was required to abandon the emblem and deity of his original group and accept those of the new group. Some individuals, however, continued to worship their own deities even after the emblem and deity of the new group had been forced upon them.

In a marriage between a Japanese man and an Ainu woman, their son, who had no one from whom to inherit an emblem and deity, received these from one of his mother's male kinsmen. There has been a case in which three sons of a Japanese father received three different emblems and deities from three different maternal relatives. Sometimes a son born to a Japanese father and an Ainu mother was given the crest and deity of the mother's second (Ainu) husband and thus became a member of the latter's descent group.

(4) *Economic functions.* We were not able to learn whether an entire descent group or any segment of it larger than the nuclear family ever cooperated in economic activities. Nor does any property appear to have been commonly owned by either the patrilineal group as a whole or by any of its segments larger than the family. "Man's treasure," it is said, was handed down from the father to the eldest son, younger sons having to earn theirs through their own effort. Some informants maintain, however, that when there were many brothers, although the eldest son was custodian of the "treasure," other sons had legitimate access to it. We have no evidence that members of a descent group owned "man's treasure" in common. In default of a son, the eldest daughter's husband or a foster son inherited this property. In an ordinary lineage system, property and status are inherited by lineage mates in genealogical order, the lineage thus serving as the basic unit of inheritance. In the Ainu kinship system, however, the family was the basic unit.

(5) *Political function in relation to the village.* It is not clear what significance the patrilineal group had as a political or legal body. One difficulty in discerning the political function of the patrilineal group is that the relationship of this kinship group to the village (*kotan*) as a territorial group is not very definite, so that the political function of one may be confused with that of the other. This is particularly true if all men in a village belonged to a single patrilineal group, as seems to have been fairly usual. In fact, older informants of the Saru River area maintain that in former times all men of a village did share the same ancestral emblem. This is probably the reason why the term for patrilineal group, *ekashi ikir*, was sometimes used to designate the village.

If the kinship group and the territorial group coincided perfectly, it may seem impossible as well as unnecessary to distinguish the functions of the two, even on theoretical grounds. However, the Ainu apparently made a distinction between the village head, *kotan-kor-kur*,

6: Sugiura & Befu E-4, 5 (1951) 1962
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and the leader of the patrilineal group, *utar-pake*, which suggests that the kin group and the territorial group were regarded conceptually as separate entities.[5] Takakura (1944: 63) states that the head of a kin group (*utar-pake*) "was traditionally the representative of a village and at the same time maintained the order of the village." This suggests that the head of the patrilineal group was also the village leader. If a village included two or more patrilineal groups, the head of one of them seems to have been the village leader. The specific duties of the village headman are not known; but whatever they may have been, the headman does not seem to have had any great authority. The position of the village head was inherited patrilineally within the descent group as a whole—in contrast to the "man's treasure," which was inherited within the family.

(6) *Ancestor worship* (*shinnurappa*). Since a detailed analysis of Ainu ancestor worship is available elsewhere (Kubodera 1952), we shall consider only the questions of (a) who participated in these rites and (b) which ancestors were worshipped. The family head or a closely related older patrikin, knowledgeable in ceremonial matters, officiated at the ritual. The family head's daughters and his father's sisters and daughters, who, of course, belonged to different matrilineal groups, also participated. The ancestors worshipped on these occasions were the male participants' fathers, grandfathers, and other male ancestors and the female participants' mothers, grandmothers, and other ancestresses. As the priest prayed to these ancestors through the deity of fire, they in turn convoked other ancestors, so that a large number of ancestors were worshipped at the same time. All the male ancestors propitiated were members of a single patrilineal group, whereas the ancestresses belonged to several different matrilineal groups.

Principal Features of the Matrilineal Descent Group

(1) *Belt.* Underneath her clothes every adolescent or mature Ainu woman wore a belt, called *upshor* (Segawa 1952). This belt was never to be shown or talked about, and a great deal of magical belief was associated with it. Women who belonged to the same matrilineal group wore belts which were made in the same manner and differed from those worn by women of other descent groups. The belt was thus the symbol and proof of membership in the matrilineal group, as the ancestral crest was of the patrilineal group. A woman without a female blood relative from whom to inherit a belt sometimes received one from a woman belonging to a different matrilineal descent group. Moreover, if a woman married a son or brother of a woman who possessed the same type of belt as hers—in violation of the exogamous rule to be discussed below—the bride changed the type of belt she wore. Her daughter, however, reverted to the use of the original belt.

(2) *Inheritance of special skills.* Magical skills to cure illness and to communicate with the gods, midwifery, and the ability to recite Ainu epics are said to have been inherited matrilineally by

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

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INTRODUCTION

remained intact, and the Japanese religious beliefs and practices made little headway.

621 The basic social unit among the Ainu was the simple family. A [594] group of families formed a settlement or hamlet (*kotan*): the [162] number of families in a settlement varied from one to over twenty, but was usually less than ten. Settlements were made near rivers, 361 and sites were usually selected for their proximity to fishing grounds, especially the spawning grounds of the dog-salmon.

621 A settlement or group of settlements constituted a politically 423 autonomous local group, the unity and integrity of which was [184] expressed by the common ownership of salmon spawning beds and common participation in certain rituals.[1] Members of the local groups regarded the river valley as their territory, and had exclusive rights to exploit its resources, which they defended against the trespass of outsiders. For all economic purposes, the local group was self-sufficient.

226 Among the fishing rituals practised by the Ainu the most im- 796 portant was the dog-salmon ritual (*kamuichep kamuinomi*). The 621 elders of each household in the local group, owning common salmon spawning grounds, joined under their headman to perform the rites. There was a ritual to ensure the success of the [774] coming salmon run, a first salmon ritual, and a ritual to return the spirits of the captured salmon to the land of the kamui.

224 Hunting, particularly bear hunting, required strict adherence to 825 ritual. The bear itself is a deity and the Bear Ceremony is the best 796 known of all Ainu rituals.

London, 1956

Postscript by B. Z. Seligman

648 It is well known that, from the earliest historical times, the Ainu 175 were gradually driven north by the Japanese in Honshu. Frontier posts were established in the northern province of Mutsu to 'keep out the barbarians'. Sansom[2] states that in 805 a memorial to the

[613] [622] [114]

[1] I received the following information from Mr Watanabe after further researches in 1957: In the Tokapchi district these groups are called *shine itokpa* or *ako kor utar* (one and the same male ancestor-mark together possessing people). Characteristics of the group are: strong group consciousness, exclusive claim to the resources of the river basin, and collective ritual. There is no single authority, at least in normal times.—B.Z.S.

[2] G. B. Sansom, *Japan, a Short Cultural History*, The Cresset Press, London, 1931.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Reference must be made to the secret worship on the occasion of the *pase ongami*. At Nibutani it was performed under the auspices of Metot-ush Kamui, and Munro states that at least four other *kamui* were worshipped on this occasion. One informant told him that the *kamui* he worshipped had been revered in his patrilineage for fourteen generations. Mr Watanabe states that *kamui nomi* ritual differs according to the different *ekashi-ikir* taking part in it. Mr Kubodera states that the *kamui* for whom *pase ongami* is performed differ in every patrilineage, and that they are so sacred that they are never mentioned outside the lineage. These observations of Mr Kubodera give significance to Munro's statement (Chapter III, pp. 37–8) concerning the use of the *ekashi itokpa* in the Bear Ceremony at Nibutani. 'A male ancestral sign (*ekashi itokpa*) is incised on the outspread shaven *inau* for Hash-inau-uk Kamui. . . . Two more of the same kind are placed where the head of the bear is displayed.' Thus, a link is suggested between the ancestry of the bear cub killed and the patrilineage of the elder who has reared the cub and carries out its ritual dismissal.

The importance of the bear deity cannot be over-emphasized; bear meat was the most esteemed food. The Bear Ceremony—actually the ritual killing of a god—was a highly important rite performed in every *kotan*. A cub was captured, and treated with great respect until it had grown old enough for its ritual dismissal. Munro witnessed this ceremony many times, and it is most unfortunate that his description of it should have been lost. The bear cub has been treated with the respect due to a god since the time of its capture; it is believed to appreciate its ceremonial death, and so to be ready for its *ramat* to reincarnate in another bear who will also be caught, worshipped and killed in the locality, thus providing the same patrilineage with food.

Kotan has been translated 'village' when the local settlement only is indicated, but it is clear that the word had a wider meaning in former times, and, as will be seen, still has in some contexts at the present day. According to Munro (Chapter II, p. 22) the cult of the eagle owl, known as Kotan-koro Kamui (Village-Owning Kamui) is prevalent in all localities, with 'varying importance'. He is sometimes referred to as Kotan-koro chikap ekashi Kamui (Village-Owning Divine Ancestor). At Mokoto in the north he is given special honour on festive occasions. At Nibutani, however, he was given a small offering compared with that of other *kamui*

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
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This is made to Nusa-koro Kamui, the Kamui of the chaff-thrown *nusa*, where, in olden times, it was customary to bury important elders. On this occasion, Nusa-koro Kamui is addressed as Kotan Koresu Kamui Ekashi (Ancestor Kamui who Rears the Kotan). Further evidence is seen in the title Iworo-koro Kamui (see above, p. 152). It is suggested that the bear, eagle owl, sky, and the chaff-thrown *kamui* (all, it should be noted, *pase kamui*) are each, in certain localities, connected with the *kotan* or the *iwor* (see below), territories occupied by patrilineages, and so associated with the ancestral cult.

Kotan chieftainship has broken down. Where it still exists, succession follows the old custom and is patrilineal. The chief was called *Sapane guru* and the office passed to the eldest son. Munro was told that in the old days a bad chief might be put to death. Mr Seiichi Izumi states (*Journal of Japanese Ethnology*, 1951) that since the 1890s when the Ainu lost their territorial rights to hunting and fishing grounds, the strong territorial group life has disintegrated. Previously, the chief presided over the patrilineal family groups—the *ekashi-ikir*—of the locality. In text fig. 8 Munro shows diagrammatically how the local groups were arranged with regard to their hunting rights on the hills and fishing rights in the rivers and on the sea coast. Hunting by means of a spring bow (*kuari*) was a collective activity limited by village rights. Persons not belonging to these groups could not become members of the *kotan* unless they were adopted by a local *ekashi-ikir* and given its badge (*itokpa*), for which a valuable gift would be accepted. Within the territory (*iwor*) of the *kotan* each family had certain exclusive rights which were transmitted from father to eldest son. These were specified hunting rights, fishing rights in rivers and on the coast, and the right to collect the herb from which aconite poison is extracted. No one was allowed to enter the *iwor* of another *kotan* without permission.

Mr Watanabe states that after the Ainu were given plots of land for cultivation in 1885 the *iwor* organization began to disintegrate, but in his recent researches in the Topachi district (1957) he found the largest territorial group to be the *ekashi-ikir*, each of which was associated with its type of *itokpa*. Thus he confirms Munro's somewhat obscure statement that the eagle owl might be 'a deity particular to certain Ainu', and, further, he indicates that the bear deity is associated with the *ekashi-ikir*.

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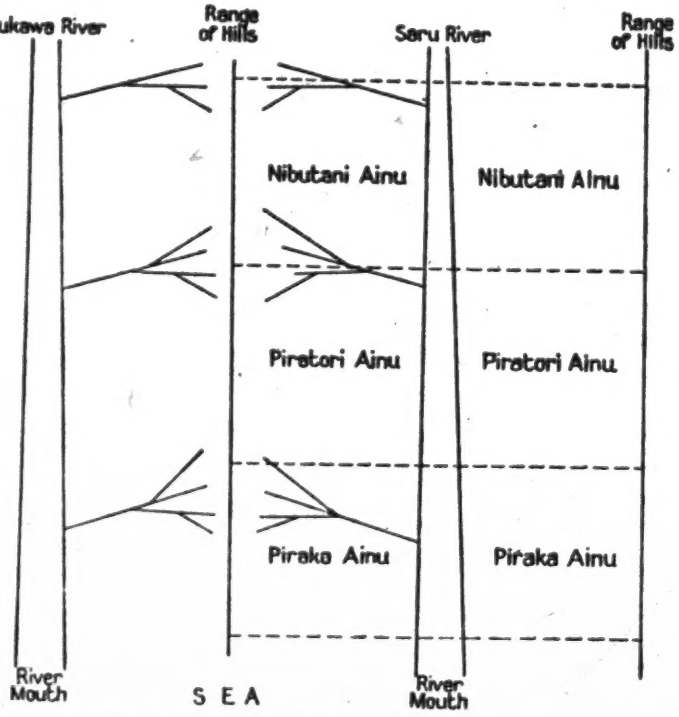
769 Munro states that the 'disembodied ones' (*Anaishiri*) are the [778] dead in the ancestral line (*shinrit*). He suggested that all *shutu inau* [301] were representations of ancestors, and he considered them to be effigies.

[776] Most of the headband-badges have reference to the same animal spirits which are also associated with the women's *kut*.



●621 423

TEXT FIGURE 8.—Fishing and Hunting Rights.

Note. Other *Kotans* are not indicated. The dotted lines are simply intended to represent the principle of assigning rights by mutual agreement. The watersheds form the boundaries.

776 To sum up:

769 Among the large number of *kamui* associated with the needs of
614 all Ainu, and appealed to by all for their help, are some who receive special worship from the men of certain patrilineages and are

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

Otopuke Valley.

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103

R.G.	S.I.G.		Settlement Group	Numbe of Houses
		L.G.	Naitai	2
			Meto	1
			Rucha	1
			Wop	3
			Ichampet	2
			Kamaune	1
		L.G.	Nipushipet	3
			Mokenashi	1
			Ochirushi	2
			Shikaripetputu	2

Satnai Valley.

R.G.	S.I.G.		Settlement Group	Number of Houses
		L.G.	Nupokomap	9
		L.G.	Munhunki	3
		L.G.	Urekarip	3

R.G. River Group
S.I.G. *Shine Itokpa* Group
L.G. Local Group

361
621

The Settlement.

Families settled together and formed a *kotan*, the Ainu settlement. In the Otopuke valley several *kotans* consisted each of only one family. The number of houses or households constituting a *kotan* varied from one to more than ten, usually less than ten. This was also the case with the Ainu settlement even in 1857-58[19].

[103]

The material aspect. The *kotan* was usually named after the stream near which it was situated. Sites for *kotans* were chosen with a view to proximity to sources of drinking water and fishing and hunting grounds. The most important factor was usually the spawning beds of dog salmon. The spawning beds were well developed and aggregated into concentrations in the main stream near the junctions of tributary streams and the *kotan* itself was usually situated on the terrace of the river near the spawning ground. The distance between two adjacent *kotans* would vary from about 2 to more than 8 kms., the average being 4-8 kms. The families of a *kotan* were not concentrated in a cluster of houses but rather were scattered and often semi-isolated. The distance between dwelling houses next to each other varied from ca. 100 m. to 500 and some might be even farther away.

621

The social aspect. Each *kotan* group was called by the name of the *kotan*,

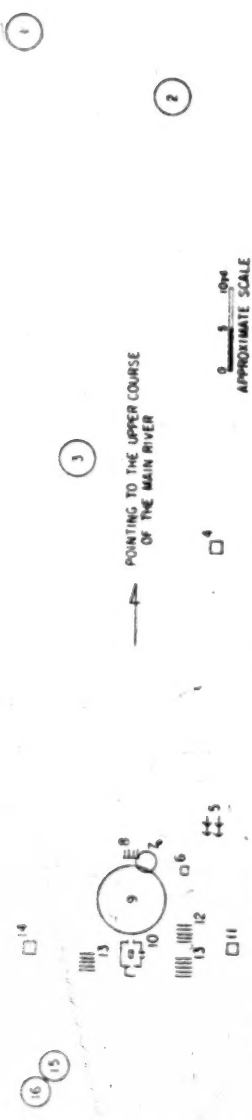

Fig. 1. The reconstructed plan showing the arrangement of an Ainu house and associated structures and sites in Tokapchi. 1. Skinning spot. 2. Skin dump. 3. Bone dump. 4. Store house for tools and crafts. 5. Dead trees set up for drying fresh meats and skins. 6. Cage for the bear cub. 7. Ash dump. 8. Outdoor alter. 9. Ground for the bear ceremony. 10. Dwelling house. 11. Store house for meat. 12. Drying frames for meat. 13. Drying frames for fish. 14. Store house for fish. 15. Site for drawing water. 16. Site for the preparation of fish.

for instance, Naitai plus *un* (*of or to be at*) *utaru* (*people*). The people of a *kotan* constituted a single group whose members used a concentration or concentrations of spawning beds (a spawning or spawning grounds) of dog salmon in common (pp. 60–62). The *kotan* is classified into two types according to size and cooperative function. Settlement type 1 is composed of three households or less forming a single cooperative unit for some fishing and hunting activities. Settlement type 2 is composed of more than three households not forming a single cooperative unit for any gathering activities. So far as the actual examples from Azuma, Tokapchi and Otopuke valleys are concerned, the maximum size of a cooperative gathering unit is three households. Moreover the cooperative unit is usually or almost always composed of households from the same settlement (p. 43).

The Local Group.

The *kotan* group did not always constitute a socio-politically integrated territorial unit, that is, a local group. The presence of the two categories labelled by the present writer as 'settlement group' and 'local group' has already been noticed in some works, although those were not clearly defined[11]. The local group as a politically autonomous group could either consist of several *kotan* groups or of only a single *kntan* group. The unity and integrity of the local group were manifested in the presence of a common

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

621 [421] [622] headman, collective ownership of the named concentrations of the spawning beds of dog salmon (pp. 60-62), group participation in certain rituals such as the salmon ceremony (pp. 72-73), and cooperation in house-building. The local group as such was called by the name of the settlement, *kotan*, in which the headman lived plus *un* (*of or to be at*) *kuru* (*a man*) *koru* (*to possess*) *utaru* (*people*). It means the people of such and such a headman.

The Ainu local group is classified into two types: Type A, the single-settlement local group and Type B, the multi-settlement local group. Type A is further classified into two subtypes: Subtype 'a' with Settlement Type 1 and Subtype 'b' with Settlement Type 2. Type B is also classified into two subtypes: Subtype 'a' with Settlement Type 1 and Subtype 'b' with Settlement Types 1 and 2 mixed. The local group of Type B with Settlement Type 2 only has never been encountered by the present writer. So far as the local groups at ca. 1880-85 as identified by the present writer are concerned, the actual situation is as follows (Table 2). The size of the local group varied: the smallest was of Aa type with 3 households and the largest of Bb type with 11 households, the usual size being 5 to 10. Of 7 local groups identified in the upper Tokapchi valley, 4 were of Ab type, 1 was of Type A but not ascertainable whether Aa or Ab, and 2 were of Bb type. In the Satnai valley, 2 of 3 local groups in total were Aa type and the third was Ab. In the Otopuke valley, however, both of 2 local groups in total were of Ba: the one consisted of 6 *kotans* with 10 households and the other of 4 *kotans* with 8 households.

621 184 As has already been described, there were two types of Ainu local groups, a concentrated- or mono-settlement type and a dispersed- or multi-settlement type. The proportions in which the two concurred in different river groups did not vary much but, as far as the present writer has investigated, either one or the other seems to have been predominant. On the Azuma in the 1880's for instance, all the local groups (three in total) belonged to the mono-settlement type with Settlement Type 2. On the Shikot a case is found of an overwhelming number of local groups of mono-settlement type mingling with a few of multi-settlement type. The data for the last-named, however, are of a later period than those for the other rivers.

621 361 184 A settlement of the mono-settlement local group contained no less than 3 households, usually 5 to 10. In a settlement of multi-settlement local group, though nothing definite can be said except for the Otopuke and the upper Tokapchi, the number was much smaller; 1 to 2 as a rule, 6 at very most. According to the records on Ainu settlements, in Hokkaido, contained in MATUURA's expeditionary diaries written in the 1850's, a settlement with 10 households on any river course, excepting the Saru, was classified as large. The Teshio and the Tokapchi were particularly remarkable for the predomi-

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

nance of 1 to 2 house settlements. Special attention should be drawn to the fact that the size and distribution in the 1850's of the pre-agricultural, as it seems, Teshio settlements and of the Tokapchi settlements with no cultivated plots as yet except near the sea coast, bore a striking resemblance to those of the tiny scattered settlements of the Otopuke Ainu who practiced no plant cultivation at all even at the period under the writer's investigation (Note 10, tabulated data from MATUURA's diaries in MASAMUNE, ed., 1937).

Occasions for collective activities of the local group seem to have been rare: the only two which could be ascertained are the salmon ceremony and house-building. The salmon ceremony (p. 72), was organized and directed by the headman, and the male household heads of his local group participated in it. In house building the Ainu first constructed the roof part on the ground and then put it on top of the posts set in the ground. It was the lifting up of the roof which required a number of hands at one time. In this work all male householeads and even housewives of the local group came to help the family concerned. Cooperation in gathering of the local group as a whole could take place when it was of Aa type (p. 43).

For all economic purposes the local group was self-sufficient. Ainu technology did not require the cooperation of a unit larger than the local group. In fact the family was often self-sufficient in this respect although members of a few families sometimes joined together for certain activities (p. 43). Social intercourse beyond the local group seems to have been rare, although there had been a degree of intermarriage. The principal occasions for Ainus to meet members of other local groups were at the bear ceremony in winter (pp. 73-76).

The Headman.

The headman was called by various titles: *kotan koru kuru*, man who possesses the *kotan*, was used by outsiders; the name of the *kotan* in which the headman lived plus *un kuru*, man who is in such and such a *kotan*; *aneram ushinnu kuru*, man by whom we are relieved; *kotan shikamak kuru*; *kotan* (*or utaru*) *spahane kuru*, headman of the *kotan* or people; *utara koru kuru*, people-owning man. He was head of a local group and leader of a kin group which constituted the core of the local group. He was expected to be the man to lead and to look after his people on behalf of their parents. He was also regarded as the man who knew everything, especially ancestral traditions. He was not only an official in charge of the political regulation of his group but also a chief adviser to individuals in the group. Collective enterprises organized and directed by the headman would seem to have been restricted to narrow sphere of activities such as religious rites. The only ritual known to have been organized and directed by the headman and whose details

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

622 my informants remembered clearly, was the dog salmon ceremony; there
788 is, however, a possibility of other rituals belonging to this category. His main function seems to have been religious-ritual regulation over his group. His main tasks were as the following: 1) external affairs; a) observance of rituals for affiliation of a new comer to his group (pp. 14-15), b) ritual sanction of a tresspasser, c) ritual permission to non-members to exploit resources (pp. 77-78), d) negotiation of inter-local-group affairs; 2) domestic affairs: a) leadership in observance of the dog salmon ceremony (pp. 72-73), b) being kept informed of the areas where hunting with spring bows and poisoned arrows was taking place and of the people engaged in it (p. 67), c) supervision of the proper observance of rituals and taboos by individuals of his group, d) protection of an individual family short of food, e) giving advice to individuals of his group in practical and moral difficulties which varied from production technique to medicine.

He did manual work himself, but from the above point of view he was respected and was always given an honoured position on such an occasion as the bear ceremony.

● 621 Kinship Organization of the Local Group.

This is one of the most obscure aspects of the Ainu life. Published data on the subject are scanty and fragmentary[12]. The description below is based
[115] on the data from Tokapchi and Otopuke. This aspect among the Azuma Ainu could not be ascertained; Ushintasan, the chief and competent informant from the area, died before giving sufficient information concerning the subject.

614 Each local group had its core which was held to be a group of male
[621] patrilineal kinsmen descended from a common male ancestor and from which
611 the headman was usually drawn. The kin group was known as *shine ekashi ikiru*, one and the same male-ancestor descent. The overt expression of mem-
[778] bership of this group were; the possession of a common male-ancestor mark, *ekashi itokpa* (Note 15)[13], to be engraved on *kamuinomi inau*, the offering-stick for *kamui*-deities, and the observance of common rituals for these deities.
[562] The right to perform the ritual belonged to males exclusively. An *ekashi ikiru* might be and was usually divided, each section belonging to a different local group in the same river valley as distinguished by the Ainu.

614 The local group often included a few males semi-adopted to the core
621 *ekashi ikiru* group. Virilocal marriage was preferred but was not a strict
591 rule. A man of a different *ekashi ikiru* might take up uxorilocal residence
608 and was thus affiliated with the local group. If a male of a different *ekashi*
[796] *ikiru* wanted to come to live with the local group as one of its regular members, he had to marry a patrilocally residing daughter of a male of the core

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

ekashi ikiru so that he could obtain the right to perform the *kamuinomi* ritual associated with the ancestor mark, *ekashi itokpa*, of the core *ekashi ikiru* and he had to observe these rituals when it was necessary[14].

The transmission of *ekashi itokpa* and the associated ritual had to be performed by the headman of the daughter's father's local group. The *ekashi itokpa* newly obtained was called *matchama itokpa*, the *itokpa* of woman's side. It was the duty of the new comer to observe the ritual for deities of his wife's father's *ekashi ikiru* with the offering-sticks, *kamuinomi inau*, bearing the *matchama itokpa* on some necessary occasions. The bear ceremony was certainly one but what others were could not be identified. The new comer was thus affiliated with the local group of his wife's father but he continued to hold his own *itokpa* ihherited[1] from his father and to observe the ritual associated therewith[15]. It means that he was not fully adopted to the core *ekashi ikiru* but was semi-adopted. But with his sons it was not so. The first son was affiliated with his father's *ekashi ikiru* and not with that of his mother's father; he was expected to go back to live with the local group to the core of which his father or his patrilineal male ancester belonged. All sons except the first were expected to live with the local group in which they were born; however, they might be affiliated with either of their father's *ekashi ikiru* or their mother's father's, i.e. the core *ekashi ikiru*. Which of the above *ekashi ikiru* they were to be affiliated with was determined under the direction of their headman. In case of affiliaton with their father's *ekashi ikiru* they had to inherit the *itokpa* and the associated ritual of their father as their own to "follow the ancestors of their father's side". But to live there as the regular members of the group they had also to obtain the *itokpa* of their mother's father's *ekashi ikiru* besides their own and to participate in the ritual of the group on some necessary occasions. In case of adoption into their mother's father's *ekashi ikiru*, i.e. the core *ekashi ikiru*, they inherited the *itokpa* and the associated ritual of their mother's father to "follow the ancestors of their mother's father's side", and lived with them. The senior son could also remain to live among the local group in which he was born by going through the same procedure as his father had gone through when he came to live there.

All the procedures stated above had to be followed under the direction of the headman of their local group and the transmission of the *itokpa* and the associated ritual had to be obserbed[2] by him.

In some Ainu local groups there were found, besides regular members, a certain number of persons in the category of *anun utari*, foreign people. The word was prefixed with the name of the river where they stayed, e.g. *Otopuke anun utari* and so forth. By *anun utari* is meant observers of *anun kamuinomi* or non-local *kamuinomi* rituals. They fall under two classes.

1, [Errata: the word "ihherited" should read "inherited". Cf. errata sheet, p. 164-B--Analyst]

2, [Errata: the word "obserbed" should read "observed"--Analyst]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

621 To one class belonged those from other places who, relying on some affinal
602 relationship or kinship with a local member, had come to stay as a sort of guest by his or her side. With the aid from the member and the headman, they were to remain for a year or two, or even four or five, enjoying hunting and fishing with regular members and then to go home again to their
621 native area. They were usually married and were with their families. To the
609 other class belonged those who had no relations among the local group mem-
574 bers but, pressed by narrow circumstances, had come for aid from them. After passing certain questionings by some one headman they were taken in
[343] and then, whether married or single, male or female, were temporarily housed for the first year or two by the side of the headman's, for instance, under the floor of his elevated storehouse built on piles. Provided also by him with food and clothing, they were to live by helping in manual work for the headman and his people, all under his directions and supervision. They were called *ussiu*. Eventually, as their character and personal cirumstances became known, the headman, if convinced of their good intention, real need and absence of selfish conduct, gave permission for them to build and to live in a house of their own somewhere in the area according to his directions. Nevertheless, they remained *anun utari* just as before; at all times in hunting and fishing they were under watchful supervision in case they should behave wrongly or thoughtlessly and ignore the nature-spirits venerated by the local
[382] members. If they were single, the headman usually arranged marriages for them with some local women with whom to make a home in the area. No longer *anun utari*, they were then counted as regular members. The marriage procedures and the resultant new status seem to have been all similar to those previously described for affiliates with the local group. Though in point of fact not much is known of their concrete activities and status, some evidence well bear out their existence[16].

Shine Itokpa Group.

614 Neighbouring local groups were aggregated into larger territorial groups[17]. The larger group was called as *shine itokpa uko koru utaru*, one and the same *itokpa* jointly possessing people, or in abbreviation *shine utaru*, one and the same people. The present writer calls it *shine itokpa* group. The group usually consisted of several local groups next to each other along a river as distinguished by the Ainu. In Azuma, however, one of the two *shine itokpa* groups nearer to the coast consisted of a mono-settlement local group called *pishun kotan* or *pishun utaru* (Note 43). The cores of the member local groups were held to be a group of patrilineal kinsmen, *shine ekashi ikiru*, descended from an ancient common male ancestor of local origin. It was the *itokpa* of this ancestor which was possessed by every member of the *shine itokpa*

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

226 and 4, the various Ainu fishing techniques, fishing localities and fishing sea-
182 sons were closely adjusted to the habit and ecology of the dog salmon. Thus the Ainu activities in catching the fish were concentrated to and around its spawning grounds. Both the ichthyological data cited in Note 28 and Ainu information indicate the annual reccurrence of the major spawning grounds in the same places. Each local group controlled a certain number of these
[621] spawning grounds which were distributed near its settlement or settlements, and each settlement group exploited intensively the ground or grounds nearest to them and controlled by their local group (pp. 59-60).

Hunting Devices.

Bows and Arrows.

411 The bow and arrow were the only hand weapons to Ainu hunters. Some
224 Ainus kept spears with iron points which were obtained by means of trade,
[439] but there is no evidence that the spear was ever used in their regular hunting activities. They hunted deer and bears with the hand-bow, *chiani ku*, and the spring-bow, *amappo*, both simple bows (Fig. 5, a & b). The arrow shaft for the former is a grass stem and that for the latter wooden. Both have
[278] an arrowhead made of a kind of bamboo and are always coated with aconite
[562] poison. Only the males were to handle them.

The spring bow was set firmly on a tree stump by the side of a trail, with a string fastened on one end to the trigger and stretched across the trail of bear and deer in such a way that the poisoned arrow be shot automatically at the touch of any animal. The tip of the arrow fixed was sheathed in a roll of bark to protect the poison from rain and dew. The arrow lacked the connecting line for holding the game shot. The chief duty of a hunting group staying at the hunting hut was to set a number of spring bows and arrows in the hunting ground, *kuari ushi*, and keep their rounds inspecting continually.

224 Apart from their use in association with the deer fence, the spring bow, set as they were alone in inconspicuous positions in a mountain hunting
[622] ground, could be a great danger to human beings as well. Accordingly, their use was strictly regulated by the headman as one of his important duties.
[476] In practice, they were set by each cooperative group of hunters working as
[311] a unit, centred in a specific area of one dale valley as a unit. The areas, *kuari ushi*, places for setting bows, were found either on the upper reaches of the dales which feed the river along which their *kotans* were distributed, chiefly for deer hunting, or in the dale valleys at the sources of the river for bear hunting (Fig. 8). Unless abandoned, the same area was used successively by one group over many seasons. Except when used in association

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

IV

COOPERATION AND DIVISION OF LABOUR

182 476 593 The gathering techniques of the Ainu were adapted to the seasonal cycles of activities of biotic species, while the seasonal changes of those biotic species took place almost synchronically in different places. The Ainu, omnivorously dependent upon various food supplies of such character, had to carry out their activities of various kinds at different places at the same time. They solved this problem by means of intrafamily division of labour and intrafamily or interfamily cooperation as well as by some automatic devices.

Cooperation.

476 The Ainu techniques of gathering did not require any large-scale cooperation, for some important techniques required each a single person only, while most of the other techniques needed no more than a few to carry them out. Not a few families were industrially self-contained units, gathering independently all the materials of living, whether the family lived together with other families in a single *kotan* or lived singly forming a *kotan* by itself. But other families obtained part of their living through cooperation with other families, although these interfamily cooperation was of a limited scale: usually no more than three families cooperated in any kind of food-gathering[1] activities.

[621] Cooperation was usually between families in the same *kotan*, whether the local group consisted of only one *kotan* or several. Cooperative gathering activities clearly identified are bear hunting, deer hunting, weir fishing, and bag-net fishing. The general Ainu term for this kind of cooperative group is unknown, though particular groups were severally called, according to the kind of the activities, as *something ukashui utari*, meaning such and such work partners, *uko iramande utari*, meaning collective hunting partners, or simply hut fellows in hunting as well as in fishing. The members of the bear hunting group were patrilineal close kinsmen usually within the category of male siblings and their sons, but cooperative groups in other types of gathering tasks sometimes comprised even men of different *ekashi ikiru* (p. 16) and/or their families. These cooperative groups acted under the leadership of the most capable person in the given group.

224 476 [602] [555]

476 621 A small settlement group of three families or less usually formed a single cooperative group, while a larger settlement group got split into more than one cooperative units, each usually formed by three or less than three families.

1. [Errata: the word "food-gathersng" should read "food-gathering". Cf. errata sheet, p.164-A--Analyst]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

619 the sole power to act in the matter. On getting permission, the person was
423 made acceptable to all other local groups within the territory through communication and introduction by the issuing headman (p. 77).

423 Territories Maintained by Groups Smaller than the River Group within the
● 621 Territory of the River Group[17].

The following territories were maintained by individual simple families, cooperative groups and local groups forming the larger group, i. e. the river group: places for setting bows and deer-fences, named concentrations of spawning beds of dog salmon, sites for peep-fishing huts, fish-traps and weirs.

Evidence from Saru suggests that a site for digging aconite in the lower Saru was under control of a local group nearest to it (WATANABE, 1951, pp. 78-79). It is true that collecting sites for the plant of 'best' quality were localized (p. 66). The territoriality on the sites in other areas is unknown. It seems to be certain that bears' dens were owned by Ainu hunters but the category of the controlling body can not be identified clearly.

Types of Territory

Territory Maintained by the River Group as a Whole	Territories Maintained by Smaller Groups within the River Group	Controlling Body	Condition of the Place
River basin as prescribed by the Ainu	Site for peep-hut (*worun chise karu ushi*)	Individual simple family	Unstable
	Site for fish-trap (*urai karu ushi*)		
	Site for weir (*tesh karu ushi*)	Cooperative group	Stable
	Place for setting bows (*ku ari ushi*)		
	Place for deer-fence (*kutehi ushi*)		
	Named concentration of spawning beds of dog salmon (*yaicharo iki, ichan* or *ichannni*)	Local group	Very stable

The ichthyological characters of the spawning beds and grounds of dog
[796] salmon have already been described (Note 28). It was customary with each Ainu local group to give a name to the respective spawning grounds near their settlement where spawning beds of the salmon recurred every season in a greater concentration than elsewhere and to observe anually a series of rituals for these as the controlling body of the particular fishing grounds (p.
[311] 72). Each settlement was usually situated near one of the spawning grounds

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of their own local group which was exploited most intensively by the settlement group. It is evident that besides these spawning grounds controlled by local groups there were many other smaller spawning grounds and scattered spawning beds which were neither named nor claimed by any group but were open to any members of the river group for exploitation without permission. Examples of spawning grounds thus named and controlled by local groups are given as follow (Map 2).

Named Spawning Grounds on the Otopuke, a Tributary to the Tokapchi[49]
(in descending order of location)

Name of Spawning Ground	Approximate Length (yd.)	Group Exploiting Regularly	Controlling Body
Naitai-putu Un Ichanuni	40	Naitai settlement group	Local group of upper Otopuke*
Kamaune Un Ichanuni	200	Kamaune settlement group	"
Wop-putu Un Ichanuni	100	Wop settlement group	"
Nipushipet Un Ichanuni	200	Nipushipet settlement group	Local group of lower Otopuke
Ochirushi Un Ichanuni	40	Ochirushi settlement group	"
Otopuke-putu Un Ichanuni**	300-400	Settlement groups lower than Nipushipet	"

Named Spawning Grounds on the Upper Tokapchi[49]
(in descending order of location)

Name of Spawning Ground	Approximate Length (yd.)	Group Exploiting Regularly	Controlling Body
Kamuirokki Un Ichan	200	Kuttarashi settlement group	Kuttarashi Group as local group
Honnarakki Un Ichan	100	"	"
Wenshiri Un Ichan	400	"	"
Umshupenai Un Ichan	600 or more	"	"
Sustaifulsam Un Ichan	300	Nitmap settlement group	Nitmap group as local group
Nitmap Un Ichan	400	"	"
Parato Un Ichan	200 or more	"	"
Tomamapet Un Ichan	200	"	"
Kapot-pira Un Ichan*	300	Pipaushi settlement group	Pipaushi group as local group
Ohorukot Un Ichan	200	"	"
Okatmapka Un Ichan (on the Sahorun, a tributary)	100	"	"

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Name of Spawning Ground	Approximate Length (yd.)	Group Exploitung Regularly	Controlling Body
Tannepet Un Ichan	more than 400	Kumaushi settlement group	Kumaushi group as local group
Pashiushi Un Ichan	200	„	„
Shipenpet Un Ichan**	300-400	Sanenkoro settlement group	Sanenkoro group as local group
Enkoroomanai-putu Un Ichan (on the Sahorun)	100	„	„
Nupuchimip-putu Un Ichan (on the Sahorun)	200	„	„
Sahorun-putu Un Ichan (on the Sahorun)	200	„	„
Sarunnai-putu Un Ichan (on the Shikaripet, a tributary)	?	Sarunnai settlement group	Moseushi group as local group
Nyashikesh Un Ichan (on the Shikaripet)	above 200	Nyashikesh settlement group	„
Kuttekuush Un Ichan (on the Shikaripet)	200	Moseushi settlement group	„
Penke-pipaushi Un Ichan	?	Penke-pipaushi settlement group	(Particulars unknown)
Kene Un Ichan	600	Kene settlement group	Kene group as local group
Kiushiful Un Ichan	400	„	„
Reukenupuru Un Ichan	200-400	„	„
Chepotpiuka Un Ichan***	300	Memroputu settlement group	Memroputu group as local group
Nutap-etufu Un Ichan	above 200	„	Possively Memroputu group as local group
Uparupenai Un Ichan	200-250	„	„
Kutu Un Ichan	200-250	„	„
Pira-chorupok Un Ichan	250	Fushikopet and Furemem settlement group	(Particulars unknown)
Memro-putu Un Ichan	100	„	„
Shipet-arike Un Ichan	?	„	„
Chep-makanpet Un Ichan	250	Ponsatnai settlement group	(Particulars unknown)

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621 423 311 [103]

Named Spawning Grounds on the Satnai, a Tributary to the Tokapchi[50]
(in descending order of location)

Name of Spawning Ground	Approximate Length (yd.)	Group Exploiting Regularly	Controlling Body
Nupokomap Un Ichan	200	Nupokomap settlement group	Nupokomap group as local group
Riyoromap Un Ichan	?	"	"
Urekarip Un Ichan	600	Urekarip settlement group	Urekarip group as local group

The analysis of the spawning grounds on the Azuma is incomplete owing to the death of Ushintasan, the chief informant from the area. There are some data on the spawning grounds on the Saru; however, the time horizon concerned is shortly after the land allotment[51]. [115]

The nature of the hunting grounds was previously explained in relation to their hunting devices (p. 31; Notes 33 and 37). Distribution of the hunting grounds of the cooperative groups from Nitmap and Pipaushi is shown in the charts in pp. 45-46 and in Map 2.

The area of the territories maintained by a given group never extended beyond the capacity of the group for direct and efficient exploitation of them. Nor were any new grounds sought elsewhere until those hitherto utilized had fallen unproductive. If a group moved to a new locality leaving its ground in disuse, it ceased to have claim on the old territory. The number of fish-trapping sites varied to a considerable extent with different familes. This means that more traps were used by families with less catches by spearing against the total amount of supply needed. How these holdings by individual simple families and cooperative groups were inherited remains to be explored.

Each territory held by simple family, cooperative group or local group served as a ground for supplying specific resources, but it was only for a period of time peculiar to the ecology of each game to be obtained. For example, the bear-hunting ground was good only in spring and autumn and the dog-salmon spawning-grounds in autumn only. As a result, territorialism held by the Ainu for their localities waxed strong in season and nearly or entirely vanished out of season. On the other hand, inter-river-group-territorialism—territorialism which a river group displayed for its own river valley—induced them to refuse a stranger or outsider to exploit any kind of its resources without permission, whether in season or out of season. 423 221 311 [619]

Except spawning grounds of dog salmon and colonies of aconites, these territories controlled by the smaller groups within the river group are found in every instance to be fishing or hunting grounds furnished with fixed instruments. Unless conditions for exploiting specific resources did not fall off, 423

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231 Otopuke.

Rearing of a cub usually took nearly a year, from March or April till January or February next year, or in some cases two years, at the end of which period the animal was killed with ritual. A large quantity of feed was necessary which was practically the same kind as food for the Ainu themselves. Indeed, the amount consumed by an average cub in one day from the first autumn on, is said to have been equal to that for several grown-up Ainus. Surplus stores of salmon and wild nuts gathered in autumn went to this purpose, as well as wild vegetables collected during spring and summer.

796 614 The ritual killing of the cub, *kamui iomante*, sending off the bear-spirit, took place in January or at latest in February, before the spring bear hunting set in once again[46]. The ritual was observed as a collective enterprise of the whole *shine itokpa* group. This group represents the patrilineal grouping of the male members who formed the core sections of the neighbouring local groups in the same river valley (p. 15). As far as the present writer has examined, the ritual killing of the cub was the only peacetime collective activity participated in with regularity by the *shine itokpa* group as a whole. The observance of the so-called bear ceremony has been widely but very vaguely known as the greatest of Ainu peacetime collective actions, but little has been made known about its social aspect[47].

[628] Prior to the ceremony the headmen of the member local groups of the *shine itokpa* group held a meeting, *ukosanio*, at the house of one who by custom came first in order among them, to fix dates for the ceremonies at their respectve[1] settlement. The ceremonies came in a customary order. To take an example from one of the *shine itokpa* groups in Tokapchi, it was customary for the local groups forming the member sections to observe their cub-killing rites in the order of Nitmap, Kuttarashi, Moseushi, Sanenkoro, Kumaushi, Pipaushi and Penkepipaushi. In the *shine itokpa* group in Otopuke, 796 which consisted of two local groups, the upper local group came first. In the ● 621 local group on turn, each of the cubs kept by the headman and other families was killed with due rituals at the hands of its keeper, ***hepere koru kuru***, and his family. Whether they were killed individually at the keeper's house, as was the case at Tokapchi and Otopuke, or collectively at the headman's where they were all brought together, as at Nukapira and Saru, the rituals were performed in a fixed order of households in each local group. First came the headman's. He had exercised a custodianship over all the cubs kept within the group. It was not until the initial killing had been performed by the headman on his own cub that other cubs in the same group were killed ritually by other keepers. The rule of the order for the latter is not known; however, in the local group at Nitmap the core of which consisted

1, [Errata: the word "respectve" should read "respective" --Analyst]

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of male siblings, the headman was followed by others in the order of seniority. At Nukipet, it is informed, the order was in the nearness of kin to the headman. The ritual killing at each keeper's house in a local group, whether it had one cub or two, was finished in a day, and it went round among all the keepers' houses in the group, one each day or every two days, until all finished. Generally a couple of days were left between the last day in one local group and the first in the next. Thus, for instance, the entire period required by the whole *shine itokpa* group, beginning with Nitmap and ending up with Penkepipaushi, extended well over a month.

The ritual in each keeper's house was also participated in by the headmen and others; however, the leading part was played by the keeper. In the ritual he offered to his bear-cub the *inau*-sticks marked with his own ancestor mark, *ekashi itokpa* (cf. Note 66). But, in Tokapchi and Otopuke at least, if he was a man of a different *ekashi ikiru* semi-adopted through marriage as a member of the core *ekashi ikiru* of the local group, he had to offer the *inau* bearing his wife's father's ancestor mark, *matchama itopka*. The details have already been given on p. 14 in relation to the kinship organization of the local group and the actual case is shown at the end of Note 15. Attendants of the ritual seem to have been mostly or almost exclusively members of the *shine itokpa* group. Persons married out of the member local group of the *shine itokpa* group, mostly women, were expected to attend if possible. As a matter of fact, they found themselves too busy with similar activities in their own groups. A very few who could attend came accompanied by their husbands. Attendants at rituals in other settlements or local groups were mostly adults. At the bear festival season people often stayed away from home for more than ten days attending one ceremony after another in the member settlements of their *shine itokpa* group. Some of the seniors, it seems, were away even for a whole month.

Bear cubs were captured almost regularly each year by the interior settlements of the upper Otopuke local group, such as Naitai, Meto, Rucha and Wop, while with the lower settlements there were years when no cubs were taken. This seems especially to have been the case with the coastal settlements, *pishun kotan* (p. 47). Of the local groups on the upper Tokapchi, it is informed, three families at Nitmap, i.e. the Shurunke's, the Zarashi's and the Osareainu's, three at Moseushi, i.e. the Ritenkouk's, the Ranketuk's, and the Rarauk's, two at Kumaushi, three or four at Kuttarashi and two or three at Sanenkoro, almost always kept two cubs each; there were other houses which kept one. In case a headman failed to secure any cub for his rearing, as informed to have happened occasionally among some local groups, he was entrusted with one, if any, captured by some other member in his group. As for groups with no cubs of their own, the members, instead of having their

VII

SUMMARIES AND CONCLUSION

105 1. The Ainu territorial grouping is as follows:

[592] Household: Usually consisting of a simple family living in a permanent house.

105 Settlement: Usually consisting of 1-10 households.

621 [361] Located near a named spawning ground of dog salmon, being a unit group exploiting a spawning ground or grounds in common. Periodical change in population size and sex composition: men migrate to mountain-huts in hunting seasons.

Type 1: Consisting of 3 households or less, forming a single unit in any kind of cooperative work in gathering. Male household-heads not always unilineally related.

Type 2: Consisting of more than 3 households, splitting into more than one unit in any kind of cooperative work in gathering. Male heads of the households constituting each cooperative group not always unilineally related.

Local group: Usually consisting of 5-10 households, the minimum size being 3.

Type A: Single-settlement local group.

a. With settlement type 1, a single cooperative unit in gathering.

b. With settlement type 2, not so.

Type B: Multi-settlement local group.

Mostly with settlement type 1. Local group with only settlement type 2 never encountered.

Common type being A. The principal corporate group characterized by a common headman, collective ownership of spawning grounds of dog salmon, cooperation in house-building, and a collective ritual, i.e. the dog salmon ceremony. The core consisting of a patrilineal descent group: male household-heads patrilineally related, sometimes including a few males semi-adopted through marriage.

105 614 *Shine itokpa* group. Usually consisting of several adjacent local groups next to each other; the cores forming sections of the patrilineal kin group of males possessing a common male ancestor mark and associated cult. Collective activities in the bear ceremeny but without any chief or common property of the group as a whole.

105 619 [186] River group. Aggregation of all the local groups inhabiting a river valley as distinguished by the Ainu, consisting of one to three or a few more (at most) *shine itokpa* groups. Presence of strong group-consciousness backed by cosmology.

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Akan River, a tributary of the Kushiro		
Ikitaraushi	1	
Akihetu	3	
Soushi	3	
Fuushinai (Shitakaro)	4	2 houses were represented by an old woman respectively.
Shitakaroputo	5	The most downstream settlement. 2 houses represented by an old woman respectively.

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361
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(11) To quote from a report on the Saru Ainu: "The word *kotan* is used in two ways: as a residential area, and as a territorial group forming an integrated social unit. The *kotan* in the latter sense had an hereditary chief, called *kotan kor kur*". And again: "The two territorial groups (the two *kotan* of Panke-Pirautur and Penke-Pirautur), though distinct as residential areas, were socially and politically one Pirautur *kotan* ruled over by a single chief. So was Penakori; though divided now in two separate areas, it has always been a single *kotan* politically". (IZUMI, 1951, p. 33). No attempt, however, has been made to study more minuntely the inner-structure and interrelationship of these two groups.

621 [622]

(12) For the kinship organization of the local group, a conclusion has already been offered by TAKAKURA on various historical documents, as follows: "Such *kotan* as came under our observation were more complex, embracing elements from other *kotan* besides their own kin: some of the larger *kotan* comprised of a mixture of more than two kin groups. But the core and substance was an extremely narrow kin group" (TAKAKURA, 1942, p. 28).... The chief of a *kotan* as kin group (*kotan koru kuru*, *kotan* owning man) was naturally the family head (*chise koru kuru*) of the head house (*porochise*) as well as the head of the kinsmen (*utarapake*) (ibid., p. 29). "In time the *kotan* came to embrace a number of non-consangunity elements from other areas, but it was ruled out to receive any except through some kinship relations. A mere territorial relationship might mean a proximity of residence but little social integration" (Teikoku Gakushi-in, ed, 1944, p. 59).

[622]

A report by K. SUGIURA and S. IZUMI on a joint survery they made of the Saru Ainu in the summer 1951 fails to shed much light on the role of kinship in the Ainu local group. In fact, practically all they have to say on the subject is: "It is acknowledged by elders of the Saru basin that formerly some *kotan* were organized by the male members of the *shine* (one and the same) *itokpa*. But changes in the *kotan* in recent times make it extremely difficult for the writers to verify their view. As seen today, a *kotan* may embrace more than two *ekashi ikiru*; yet some *kotan* carry suggestions that

[114]

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621 formerly one *kotan* represented one *ekashi ikiru* (SUGIURA, 1951, p. 19). Again: "It (a *kotan* as social unit) has a *kotan* chief, *kotan koru kuru*. ....and its people in many cases belong to families of the same blood (*ekashi ikiru*), rarely to groups of different bloods" (IZUMI, 1951, p. 35). And: "The *kotan koru kuru* is hereditary. In some cases his family is the oldest in the *ekashi ikiru* of the *kotan*" (ibid.). For the related problem of how a newcomer is admitted into *kotan* membership, see Note 14, especially its latter part.

614 531 (13) A definition and examples of *ekashi itokpa* are given by KŌNO (1934). Some *ekashi itokpa* bear a design held by the Ainu to represent an animal, or, more exactly, part of an animal: those given by KŌNO as actual examples show the footprint of the brown bear, that of a bird whose name is unknown and the fin of the dolphin (or grampus?) respectively (KŌNO, 1936). The fact has been noted by some writers as evidence for a survival of a totemic custom or totemism; but such a theory has not been accepted by others. The variety of the *ekashi itokpa* among the Ainu inhabitants in the Saru valley in 1939 was investigated by NATORI: the result shows a conformity of the marks among the Ainu on the upper course and a diversity among those on the lower course (NATORI, 1940; Note 8).

621 614 608 (14) Membership of local group.—Sugiura, on his survey of the Saru River area, came at two conflicting sets of informants as to the membership formula of the local group. According to one set "some *kotan* (local group as classified by the present writer) were formerly composed exculsively of members of the same *ekashi ikiru* group sharing the same *itokpa* (ancestral mark) and *pase onkami* (ritual of some important *kamui*-spirit; properly called *kamuinomi pase onkami*) in common. When such a *kotan* admits a member of another *kotan* belonging to another *ekashi ikiru*, the person was required to give up his old *itokpa* and *pase onkami* for those of the new *kotan* and become a member of the *ekashi ikiru*" (SUGIURA, 1951, p. 18.). According to the other set of informants "it was thought too cruel to force the newcomer to accept the *itokpa* and *pase onkami* of the new *kotan* and renounce his hereditary *pase onkami*." (Ibid.) A case was brought to his notice in which "a male member, on adoption or marriage into another family (but not on immigration), not only received his new *itokpa* and *pase onkami* but retained his old ones as well, which he handed down to his descendants" (ibid.).

Of these two conflicting formulas SUGIURA regards the first as norm and the second as deviation. He remarks: "It might be assumed that some of those newcomers retained their old *pase onkami* along with those of their new village (*kotan*). The result was a confusion arising between different *itokpa* ahd *pase onkami* which originally marked one *ekashi ikiru* from another.

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The *ekashi ikiru*, instead of standing for a lineage in the strict sense of the word, tends to serve as a means of consolidating the *kotan* as a territorial group" ibid.. While stating, however, that "the male members of the *kotan* constituted one or more patrilineal kinship groups, called *ekashi ikiru*," SUGIURA makes no reference as to how an outsider might gain a membership of "a *kotan* with more than one *ekashi ikiru* groups" (ibid.). For this point we must turn to IZUMI, who worked with SUGIURA on the same survey. Resting wholly on the first set of data without touching on the second which was regarded by SUGIURA as deviation from the norm, IZUMI gives the following remarks. "Usually, members of a *kotan* consist of families of one and the same family line (*ekasni ikiru*), and rarely of more than one.... Every stranger entering the *kotan* must be reported to the chief, *kotan koru kuru*.... The chief (after much deliberation) calls a village assembly, *ukoramkoru*, to ask for general consent.... If married, the newcomers receive permission to put up a temporary shed on the *kotan keshi*, lower outskirt of the village. If unmarried, the person is taken in charge of some willing household. These people are called *tomta ek kur* (newcomer) or *iyor un kur* (hanger-on). They are not the members of the village so that they have difficulty in getting a living within the *ucoru* (rendered 'arena of life' by IZUMI; p. 70 and Note 58) of the *kotan*." As a result, a bachelor will have to offer himself as servant to the household where he is staying, doing such work as is appointed by the master. A married couple have to sustain their lives by labouring in the service of the *kotan koru kuru* and some other person. At the end of a year or two the chief calls another assembly, at which, if there is no objecton, a ritual called *tomta onkami* is arranged to take the newcomer formerly into *kotan* membership. If, however, there are many objections, the person is driven out of the community.... If the newcomer is too young to know his *itokpa* (family mark) and *pase onkami* (*kamuiromi* ritual for some important *kamui*), or if he is marrying a girl of the *kotan* as son-in-law (*inau ramat*, heir), the person goes off his old *ekashi ikiru* and obtains new *itokpa* and *pase onkami* to become a member of the *ekashi ikiru*. This procedure is what is called *itokpa kikiraye*. If the village is composed of more than one *ekashi ikiru*, he goes into one or the other of the groups. An adopted son naturally goes into that group to which his adoptive family belongs. In all other cases it is usual for the newcomer, by means of *itokpa kikiraye*, to go into that of the household where he is staying as *iyor un kuru*. For married *tomta* who are familiar with their *ekashi ikiru*, its *itokpa* and *pase onkami*, the *itokpa kikiraye* is not so simple a procedure. If a *tomta* is thoughtful and is desirous of entering any one of the *ekashi ikiru* groups in the *kotan*, he must either entrust or contribute the best part of his treasures to the *kotan koru kuru* (if there is only one *ekasni ikiru* in the village) or to that *utaru pake*, head of

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an *ekashi ikiru*, who has approved of his *itokpa kikiyare* (if there are more than one)" (IZUMI, 1951, pp. 34-35). So far as the Tokapchi and Otopuke valleys before the land allotment are concerned, there is no evidence of a village assembly to assume such political functions in the days when the headmen swayed in the traditional way. Again, in these two valleys at least, *itokpa kikiraye* did not represent a transmission of an *itokpa* with associated ritual for affiliation into a local group. Instead, it is said to have meant an exchange of *ekashi itokpa* between two persons out of peculiar interest in the history of each other's *itokpa*, though detailed circumstances for such an action are not known. When such occurred, though very rarely with justification, it is said that the procedure required full sanction and directions from the headmen concerned.

Now the first question that arises will be about the relation between *utaru pake* (head of *ekashi ikiru*) and *kotan koru kuru* (head of local group). Concerning this point IZUMI remarks: "The *kotan koru kuru* is head of the *kotan* as territorial group; in case of a *kotan* of *shine* (one) *ekashi ikiru* he is at the same time *utaru pake*, head of the kin group that forms the *kotan*. Within a *kotan* with more than one *ekashi ikiru*, so views one informant, Hachiro Kurokawa of Nuki-pet, each *ekashi ikiru* had an *utar pake* of its own, that of the most influential acting as *kotan koru kuru* as well. In contradiction to the view another informant, Kunimatsu Nitani of Niputani, informs: 'The word *utaru pake* means, not "Zoku-chō" (*head of ekashi ikiru*), but a "big man" or "old man". If you look for a word meang "Zoku-chō" the word "*utaru koru kuru*" (person who owns people) would be more appropriate. *Utaru koru kuru* in this sense would then be synonymous with *kotan koru kuru*. However, even in a *kotan* with more than one *ekashi ikiru* the presence of an *utaru koru kuru* apart from the *kotan koru kuru* has never been heard of.' More extensive investigation seems necessary before anything can be said with certainty about which of these views is correct or if either view holds good of some particular localities...." (ibid. p. 35).

Regarding this conflict of information SUGIURA makes the following remarks. "However, when more than one *ekasni ikiru* groups formed a *kotan*, did only one head and no one else represent the *kotan* ?.... No evidence has been available to prove the theory that the *ekashi ikiru* formed a territorial group on the basis of the *kotan*, its chief (*utaru pake*) directing and controlling the male members sharing *shine* (one) *itokpa*. On the other hand it seems that there is not sufficient ground to deny the presence of the *utaru pake*. As far as is known today, the social life in the *kotan*, conducted chiefly on family basis, shows no sign of a strong solidarity worthy of an *ekashi ikiru*. The *pase onkami* mentioned above and the ancestor-ritual to be mentioned later are both apparently on a family level and not events for collec-

1, [Errata: the word "meang" should read "meaning". Cf. Errata sheet, p. 164-A--Analyst]

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tive participation of the *ekashi ikiru*. Nor are there signs of the cooperation of the *ekashi ikiru* as a whole for such economic purposes as ownership of community property or cooperation in production and distribution. The only exception is the reported presence in the field of politics of what is called '*utaru pake*'; but what the post actually was remains unknown" (SUGIURA, 1951, p. 20). At any rate, the relation between *kotan* (local group) and *ekashi ikiru* (kin group) has never been made clear, and not without reasons.

A perusal of the reports by SUGIURA and IZUMI makes one suspect that, from the difficulty of securing competent informants, they could not obtain any concrete data on the social activities of the Ainu as observed and participated in by the native informants themselves in the days before the introduction of land allotment with more or less universal redistribution in their habitation and the destruction of their traditional group life. Another important factor accountable for their failure seems to be their regarding *ekashi ikiru*, *itokpa* and *pase onkami* as mere symbols of the Ainu kin group, or as mere criteria for distinguishing one group from another. The result was an almost complete disregard of the inherent meaning and function of these instiutions.[1] The term "*ekashi ikiru*", for instance, is treated as if it were an everyday word for the patrilineal kin group of Ainu males as a mere social unit. As used by the Ainu themselves, it meant the unit group that observed *kamui nomi* rituals including *pase onkami*. Moreover, the word was exclusively for use on the occasion of, and in connection with, *kamui nomi* rituals. Again, *itokpa*, instead of being a mere family crest for showing lineage, was the very mark of ancestry to be incised on such objects as the *inau* for offering to *kamui spirits*. It also formed an essential item of the rites of *kamui nomi*: The *itokpa* and *kamuinomi* through spatial orientation of the *kamui*, maintained an inseparable connection with the habitat of the Ainu. With these rituals for cosmological adjustments, their technological adaptation to their habitat was made complete. In a sense their social organizations were means to maintain those relationships. Such, then, are some of the considerations that are prerequisite to an understanding of the Ainu groups (Chapter IV).

(15) Obtaining new *ekashi itokpa*, patrilineal ancestor mark—cases and reasons.

TAKAKURA, on historical evidence, remarks: "Though the sharing of a family mark in common was based on the fact of consanguinity, its use was sometimes extended to those not related in blood. For example, a male servant from a different area living with a family might be favourably admitted and made a sharer of the mark of the family" (Teikoku Gakushiin, ed., 1944b, p. 57).

1. [Errata: the word "instiutions" should read "institutions". Cf. errata sheet, p. 164-A--Analyst]

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614 778 614 608 184 621 In 1939 NATORI made investigations among the living Saru river Ainu concerning the relation between the patrilineal descent, *ekashi ikiru*, and the pattern of the *ekashi itokpa*, patrilineal family mark for carving on the *inau*-offerings used in all *kamuinomi*-rituals and also on *kikeushi pashui*, the special libation-wand for rituals of some important *kamui*. His report (NATORI, 1940) contains several cases, with respective circumstances furnished, of the *ekashi itokpa* of one male line being handed down to another along with its *pase ongami* (or *onkami*) ritual for some *kamui* of special importance. The cases cited below, referring to *ekashi itokpa* engraved on the *kikeushi pashui* and not on the *inau*, will give, though vaguely, some hint and verification on the relation between the *itokpa*, the *ekashi ikiru* and the local group.

Case 1. Porosaru settlement today contains three distinct patrilineal Ainu families of long standing—those of Yukashite and Hoshipi, both originally from Tokapchi, and that of Rikizo, known to have lived in the Saru valley from time immemorial. Of the *ekashi itokpa* in use there is only one common to all, that of Rikizo handed down for generations among the Saru people (NATORI, 1940, pp. 207-208).

Case 2. Except Nukipet on the uppermost Nukapira which is tributary to the Saru, the six settlements on the upper Saru—Nioi, Shikerebe, Porosaru, Okotnai, Osatnai and Penakori—all share for the males of their old patrilineal families one *itokpa* inherited from the old Saru natives regardless of their origins (ibid., pp. 204-212).

Case 3. Onnep, grandfather of old Tekkerikin of Okotnai settlement, was of a male line of Shikoma on the Shibichari river. He was adopted by a family of a former Saru *kotan* Okotnai and inherited the *kamuinomi* of his adopted *kotan* with its *itokpa* (ibid., pp. 209-210).

Case 4. All the eight families now inhabiting Penakori settlement are of the same blood and share the same *itokpa*. When traced back along male lines, they resolve into two lineages, five related with Tadao's who descends from a headman of the former *kotan* of Penakori and three others related with old Sanouk. One of Sanouk's patrilineal ancestors came from Tokapchi, the mother of Ekoroekun, fifth on Tadao's male line, and the mother of Itomanguru, fifth on Sanouk's male line, were sisters. The relationship led Itomanguru to be adopted into Penakori settlement, making the two families sharers of one *itokpa* (ibid., p. 210).

In the above case of Penakori and those of other settlements further upstream, the new *itokpa* inherited displaced the old one, at least, on the *kikeushi pashui*; nevertheless, the *pase ongami* ritual, ritual to *kamui*-spirit of special

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importance, and its worship attendant on the old *itokpa* were kept intact. On the other hand, at Niputani and other lower settlements the new *itokpa* as well as the old sometimes became composite in the carving of, at least, the *kikeushi pashui*.

Case 5. Yaibaro, ancestor of Isonoashi, an old man of Niputani, ran away from his home on the lower Saru. Arriving at the former *kotan* of Niputani, he met Pikun, who found him a promising youth and married him to a daughter of a relative, thus making him sharer of the *shine* (one) *itokpa* with himself (ibid., p. 213).

Case 6. Kenkichi, an inhabitant of Niputani, is descended by male line from Hao who came from Nioi, the former *kotan* on the upper Saru, to Niputani, the former *kotan*, on the middle reaches. His *itokpa* is a composite of the *itokpa* common in all the upper settlements including Nioi and that of Matsuji's family living in the present Niputani, descendants by male line of an inhabitant of the former Niputani *kotan* (ibid., p. 213).

Case 7. Arikate, father of Isonoashi, is a brother of Ukarikun, father of Matsuji, a descendant by male line of a member of the former *kotan* of Niputani. For certain reasons he was adopted by Pirakane, a member of Piraga, a lower Saru *kotan*. As he inherited the *kamuinomi*-ritual of his adoptive family, his *itokpa* represents a composite of his old one similar to Matsuji's and that of Pirakane's lineage (ibid., p. 214).

Case 8. Sueki is a son of Akchainu of the former *kotan* of Piratori by a Piraga girl named Chishiruye and not by his wife. He inherits the *itokpa* of his mother's father of Piraga and not his father's (ibid., p. 226).

Another report by INUKAI and NATORI gives the following as an indication of the relation between the *ekashi itokpa*, the family line, and the local group as existed among the Tokapchi Ainu.

The fifth ancestor by male line before Furukawa, Ainu resident of a Tokapchi settlement, Fushiko, came from the former *kotan* of Bebet on the Ishikari to Tokapchi, where he married a local woman and settled down. Thus Furukawa possesses two *ekashi itokpa*. One is called *Bebet un itokpa*, *itokpa* at Bebet, and is for most *kamuinomi*-rituals he observes. But the most important of all the *inau*, *pakkai inau* for supporting the bear's head in the bear festival, carries *Shupsara un itokpa*, Shupusara being the name of a former Tokapchi *kotan* near where now stands Fushiko (INUKAI and NATORI, 1940, p. 81).

16 When Kazari, my informant from Otopuke, lived at Rucha settlement, a sister of her father, who had married into Shikaripet in Tokapchi, came

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home to Rucha with her husband, a Tokapchi man, and their children and, after staying for about four years at a house of their building close by Kazari's, went back again to their area.

An ancestress five generations before Kazari, who came from Arumoisan, or Kitami as it is now called, was turned out of home by her husband who was also of Arumoisan. Crossing the mountains with an infant boy, she came over to Otopuke seeking help. Here, after working for some time as *ussiu*, servant, to the then headman of Naitai, she was remarried to an Otopuke man; her son when grown up married a local daughter and settled down as a regular member of the local group.

A few more examples follow which are related to the *anun utari* that came to the Tokapchi river area from the Ishikari. An Ishikari married couple came across the mountains with two sons called Ukachipi and Kotumiseainu, a daughter called Shureshu and an unmarried young man. They came to Nitmap *kotan*, whose headman—by what process or circumstances no one now knows—arranged for them eventually to build a house at Penke Pipaushi, and lived there. Whether the man and woman went back to Ishikari or not is unknown; when Ushino, my informant from Nitmap, knew, they had both already died. Their children who had come to Tokapchi when very young grew up there. Ukachipi married an elder sister of Ekarison of Sanenkoro *kotan* (Genealogical Chart 5, S 11), Kotumiseainu married a woman of Shupusara *kotan* on the middle Tokapchi and Shureshu, the daughter, became wife of Hontomoainu of Kumaushi *kotan* (Genealogical Chart 4, KM 29). The young man brought with them from Ishikari afterwards went home, where he married a local woman; later he came again with his wife to live in Tokapchi and there begot a son. But later he again went back to Ishikari.

There were two families who had come to Tokapchi from Chikapuni in Ishikari where they were to return after a few years. They were Tamanipeki (Genealogical Chart 2, N3) and her husband and Tuapanu (Genealogical Chart 5, S7) and her husband with their young daughters Returen and Tukisamat and son Yaitekka. Little is known about what circumstances or relationship had brought them where they were; but at any rate Inautakaainu (Genealogical Chart 6, M3), who married a woman from Kuttarashi and lived at Moseushi, and his sister Wenshiko (Genealogical Chart 2, N7), wife of Arayok of Nitmap, were Tamenipeki's children by her first husband; Kotaumat (Genealogical Chart 7, ST9), wife of Mauekainu of the Satnai area, was her child by her second husband that came with her to Tokapchi. Tukisamat (Genealogical Chart 5, S17), first daughter of Tuapano, was also married to Opittakoro of Sanenkoro *kotan* in Tokapchi.

There is no doubt about these children of Tamanipeki and Tuapano having married before their parents went home to Ishikari, but little can be

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known as to when and how their marriages came about. When Tamenipeki and Tuapano went home, Wenshiko and her husband Arayok with another man saw them part of the way. On their way back, in a border mountain of Ishikari and Tokapchi, a bear attaked them and killed the two men. The women escaped and came back to Tokapchi, where they settled down. Tamanipeki was old; she remained a widow all her life. Tuapanu was remarried to Sunkran of Kuttarashi (Genealogical Chart 5, S8).

17 The formation of a kind of corporate group by a number of local groups whose cores were patrilineally related, has already been suggested by TAKAKURA on historical documents, although no discrimination was made between settlement group and local group. He states: " This fact (supreme importance being attached to family lines) made even a *kotan* chief to obey in reverence the head house of the mother *kotan*. The result was a number of chiefs who exercised a vast influence over several *kotan* as masters of head houses.... Among the best known of such chiefs in history were Shakshain of the Shibichari, Obinishi of the Saru, and Hankase of the Ishikari, each of whom was not only head of a single *kotan* but also a big chief controlling several *kotan* in their areas. Actually, however, there were few occasions for corporation between several *kotan*, so that, save for joint ritual observance and adjustment of inter-settlement disputes, those big chiefs remained as mere head of the *katan* under their direct control. The *koton* was for the Ainu the unit of social life") TAKAKURA, 1942, pp. 29-30). Again, he notices the presence of a (patrilineal) kin group with a common family mark (*itokpa*), a common deity (*paseonkami*) and deriving, in the belief of the Ainu themselves, from a common male ancestor (*ekashimoto*); and this he terms " ujizoku " clan (TAKAKURA, in Teikoku Gakushi-in, ed., 1944, pp. 57-58). He concludes that though its functional charactristics are unknown, the 'clan' in olden times had apparently a joint responsibility in matters of offence and retaliation; that the largest possible of all Ainu kinship organizations was the patrilineal 'clan' or 'federation of clans' organized on occasions against some common enemy (ibid. p. 58). No reference is made to the relationship between the 'clan' or 'federation of clans' and the territorial groups.

The existence of the terms denoting the upper group, *peni un utaru*, and the lower group, *pana un utaru*, on a river, or the upper, the middle and the lower group of a river, has been pointed out by KINTAICHI with regard to the Ishikari River (KINTAICHI, 1937, p. 109), by IZUMI with the Saru River (IZUMI, 1951, p. 31), and by SUGIURA with the Shibichari (K. SUGIURA's oral information to the writer). It remains to be proved, however, if the larger categories each stood for a corporate kin group in any sense. In the upper Tokapchi area there are found two terms *peni un utaru* and *petomun utaru*

1, [Errata: the word "attaked" should read "attacked". Cf. errata sheet, p. 164-A--Analyst]

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important point that "the sphere of their intermarriage was formerly prescribed by both the family mark indicating their patrilineal descent and the type of the chastity belt indicating their matrilineal descent" (NATORI, 1945, p. 124), though no further details on this point have been given by the same author. For *upshoru kut* (the so-called chastity belt) exogamy see Note 19.

(23) Explanation of the genealogical charts concerning the local groups of the upper Tokapchi valley.

Kuttarashi (K) Eight houses; of which seven were inhabited each by a simple family and the remaining one by the household (K29) and his widowed mother (K12). No one of the eight male house-heads was from other districts. Three of them (K20, 21 and 22) were sons of a man (K7) from the Ishikari river area who settled down in marriage; another (K29), a patrilineal relation to P15, was descended through males from an Ishikari man who came to live here some generations before. The remaining four house-heads (K17, 18, 28 and 33) were originally descended through the male line from Tokapchi Ainus; the then headman of Kuttarashi (K17) and his younger brother (K18) among the rest were patri-kin of the headman of Nitmap (N12) actually linked lineally to him; so was K28, though of less distinct line of descent.

1. Native of Nitmap; came to live at Kuttarashi and here gave birth to children.
2. Came as bride from Asahikawa on the Ishikari.
3. Patrilineally related to the headman of Nitmap (N12), sharing with him the *shine itokpa*, same male ancestor mark.
4. Closely related to P15 through male line; descended patrilineally from an Ishikari man.
5. Native and inhabitant of Kuttarashi.
6. Came as bride either from Memroputu or Pipairu.
7. Came from Ashikawa and settled down in marriage.
8. Native of Kuttarashi.
9. Native inhabitant of Kuttarashi.
10. Claimed relationship to N8, late headman of Nitmap. Died from a blow received from her husband; she left a will by which her young son (K28) was taken in charge of N8.
11. Native inhabitant of Kuttarashi.
12. Native of Kuttarashi. Had for some time been a widow; her daughters had all married and she lived with her eldest son (K29).
13. Late headman of Nitmap; of genuine descent from Tokapchi Ainus.
14. Later went to Moseuchi in Shikaripet; at the date still unmarried. It is not known with whom she stayed.
17. Then headman of Kuttarashi.

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601 20. Male; his spouse and that of his brother (K22) were sisters.
• 621 23. Was named Pashuikokit; of unknown origin.
28. The only son of K10, brought up by N8; when grown up went home to his father. In all later years, whenever he had game, took some to N8 living at Nitmap leaving Kattarashi before daybreak. On these occasions N16, who was my informant's mother and N8's daughter, and some others gave him clothings and baskets of their making. See K10.
30. Came as bride from Shikaripet.
33. Blinded when young by a blow from a bear.
34. Native of Kuttarashi and inhabitant of Moseushi.
35. Native of Kuttarashi and inhabitant of Kumaushi.
36. Native of Kuttarashi and resident of Moseushi.

[592] *Nitmap* (N) Seven houses; of which one was occupied by a widow (N16) and her unmarried children, another by an unmarried woman living alone (N20), and the rest each by a simple family. Except N15 who is a man from the neighbouring Satnai river area, all the male house-heads were brothers, their line of descent through males representing that of Nitmap headman.

1. Male; native of Nitmap descending through males from ancient Tokapchi Ainus.
2. Male; native of Tupet on the Ishikari and former husband of N3.
3. Female; also native of Tupet. Went with N4, her later husband, to Tokapchi, where they stayed about two years. On their way home to Ishikari a bear fell upon them and killed her husband. She escaped and took back to Tokapchi. Too old to marry again, she remained a widow until she died. See S7.
4. Male; native of Pepet on the river Ishikari.
5. Male; native of Nitmap.
6. Female; native of Tokapchi.
7. Female; native of Asahikawa, Ishikari; came as a bride to Nitmap.
8. Late headman of Nitmap.
9. Male; native of the Satnai river area.
10. Native of Shikaripet; went in marriage to Satnai, where she lost her husband (N9). Then went to live at Shikaripet with her young children (N15 and M6).
12. Then headman and "ottena" of Nitmap. See Note 9.
14. Came in marriage from Perutnai on the Shikata near the Tokapchi coast.
15. Native of Satnai, grew up at Shikaripet. Came to Nitmap where he got married. Died while my informant, who is his fifth child, was

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very young.

16. Female; her father (N8), who had only two daughters, was "loath to give her away" and she remained at Nitmap after her marriage. A widow now, she lived with her unmarried children.
19. Came from Kuttarashi as bride.
20. Remained a spinster all her life. At the time was living alone. For some time a man (ST25) was staying at Nitmap with an intention of taking her to wife; somehow he changed his mind and went away to Otopuke, where he married a local woman. The situation is ambiguous. Refer to ST25.

Pipaushi (*P*) 6 houses; of which one was occupied by an old widow (P8) and her unmarried daughter (P18), another by a young unmarried man (P19) and his two sisters; the rest were occupied each by a simple family. Two of the male house-heads (P7 and P15) were descended through a male line from Asahikawa people on the Ishikari. P7 in particular came from Asahikawa to Pipaushi himself and married a local woman. Of the other male householeads P9 was a descendant through the male line from an ancient Pipaushi native. The headman at the date was P6, a son of a man (P1) who came to live at Pipaushi, a brother of the fomer Nitmap headman (N8).

1. Came from Nitmap; former headman of Pipaushi.
2. Native resident of Pipaushi; descendant through males of an ancient inhabitant of Pipaushi. Patrilineally related with S2; probably his elder brother.
3. Native of Pipaushi.
4. Came from Asahikawa to Pipaushi, got married with a local woman and had lived here since.
5. Came from Asahikawa as bride. Younger sister of the Chikapumi (Asahikawa) headman's wife.
6. Native of Pipaushi; its headman and "ottena" at the date. See Note 9.
7. Native of Asahikawa; came to Pipaushi, got married with a local woman and had lived since.
8. Native of Pipaushi; widowed, she lived with her unmarried daughter (P18).
10. Native of Pipaushi; went to Sanenkoro, where he lived with a local woman he took to wife.
11. Native of Pipaushi; went to live at Kumaushi, where he married a local woman. After their daughters' marriages, moved again to Perutnai (the river Shikata) near the Tokapchi sea-coast and was not at Kumaushi at the date.

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13. Native of Pipaushi; a bachelor. Was living at the time at another settlement Kumaushi where his sister (P12) had her home.
14. Native of Pipaushi. As reported, was married to a Kuttarashi man.
16. P15's first wife from Sanenkoro. Was drowned in a river. After her children had grown up, her husband took a second wife (KM26).
18. Unmarried last daughter living with her mother. After her mother's death, continued to live alone.
19. Unmarried young man. He and his two younger sisters lived by themselves away from their father (P15) and his second wife (KM26) "because she was not their real mother."

592 *Kumaushi (KM)* 8 houses in all; of which one was occupied by a bachelor (P13; KM14) living alone, another by a widower (KM27) also living alone and yet another by a widow (P12) living together with her eldest son (KM20) and his wife and children. Of all the house-heads only two (KM10 and KM14, or P13) had come from other settlements to live at Kumaushi during their life-time. The headman was KM22; his ancestor (KM5) two generations before him through males had come from Nitmap and he was a patrilineal relative of its headman (N12). The three house-heads (KM27, 28 and 30) were brothers with K35 for their father, who came from Kuttarashi and married a local woman. These, together with the headmen of Nitmap (N12), Pipaushi (P6) and Kuttarashi (K17), are regarded as descendants through males from an ancient Tokapchi Ainu. As for the other house-heads, little is known about their ancestries except that KM6's father and KM2's father's father were both natives of Kumaushi.

1. Male; native of Asahikawa. On his way from Ishikari to Tokapchi he was drowned while crossing a river carrying his young daughter on his back. The child was rescued by Kuttarashi people.
2. Wife of KM1, a native of Asahikawa in Ishikari. Her husband (KM1) went to Tokapchi leaving her at home. When he died and their daughter survived she went to live at Kuttarashi, where she was remarried to K1.
3. Male from Kumaushi.
4. Came as bride to a Kumaushi man. Native of Asahikawa in Ishikari but was brought up at Kuttarashi in Tokapchi.
5. Male; native of Nitmap. Partrilineal relative to N12.
6. Native of Kumaushi and its resident.
7. Came as bride from Perutnai (the river Shikata) near the sea-coast of Tokapchi.
8. Wife to a Kumaushi man.
9. Went to Shikaripet as bride.

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10. Male; native of Memroput. Married a Kumaushi woman and lived there. His mother lived at Memroput; his father had been killed by a bear. Had two sisters Enkoashi and Tutanomat; the latter was married to N12, the headman of Nitmap. 601 621
11. Native of Kumaushi. Went to live at Penke Pipaushi in Shikaripet where, as he said, there were plenty of deer to hunt. Father to Imonkuk.
12. Wife; native of Shikaripet.
13. Native resident of Kumaushi. Had been dead for some years; his wife (P12) lived with their eldest son (KM20) and his family.
14. Native of Pipaushi; a bachelor.
15. Male from Kumaushi.
16. Native of Kumaushi; was married to a Pipaushi man but lived at Kumaushi.
17. Female; native resident of Kumaushi.
19. Went in marriage to the Satnai river area.
21. Young man; was away at some Japanese fishing grounds.
25. Native of Kumaushi; went in marriage to Sanenkoro.
26. Native of Kumaushi.
27. An eldest son; bereaved of his wife, was living alone.
28. Native of Kumaushi.
29. Native of Asahikawa; came from Penke Pipaushi as bride. See note on S11.

Sanenkoro (*S*) 4 houses; each occupied by a simple family. Of the 4 male house-heads 3 (S13, 14 and 18) were natives of Sanenkoro and 1 (P10) a native of another *kotan*, Pipaushi, who came to Sanenkoro, got married and became a resident. S18 was a patrilineal kinsman of the Nitmap headman (N12) with whom he had a common ancestor mark, *shine itokpa*. The father of S18's father S2 and P10's father, it is reported, were siblings. The headman at the date was S13; he and S14 were sons of a man from the Ishikari river area (S1 who came here, married a local woman and settled down. A similar case concerning headmen will be seen with M3 of Moseushi. [592]

1. Male; native of Ishikari.
2. Probably brother of P2; though full tracing of his lineage is difficult, was descended through male line from a common ancestor with the Nitmap headman, with whom he stood in a true (i.e. not by adoption) *shine itokpa* relationship.
4. Female; native of Sanenkoro.
5. Male; native of Asahikawa in Ishikari. Had lived at one time at Pipaushi and died young. For his spouse and children see ST16.

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6. Male; native of Asahikawa in Ishikari and former spouse of S7.
7. Female; native of Asahikawa in Ishikari. Went on a visiting trip from Ishikari to Tokapchi in company with her husband (S6), their unmarried 3 daughters (S16, 17 and Yaitekka) and a married couple (N3 and 4). On their way back a bear fell upon them, killing S6 and N4. The women and the children survived and took back to Tokapchi. S7, still young enough, was remarried to S8 and lived at Sanenkoro, where her daughters also grew up.
8. Native of Kuttarashi.
10. Was linked in patrilineal kinship to the headman of Nitmap.
11. Native of Asahikawa on the Ishikari; grew up, got married and lived at Penke Pipaushi in Shikaripet. When very young, he and his younger sister (KM 29) were brought by their parents migrating from Ishikari to Tokapchi. They came to Nitmap as strangers and went to the headman for help. After certain procedures they settled down at Penke Pipaushi.
12. Native of Sanenkoro. Went to Penke Pipaushi as bride. Had four children. While gathering wild grass, *trep*, was killed by a bear.
13. Native of Sanenkoro; the headman.
16. Native of Asahikawa; a first daughter; grew up at Sanenkoro. Went to Asahikawa as bride.
17. Native of Asahikawa; grew up at Sanenkoro.
18. Native of Sanenkoro; the only surviving male at the date of S10's children.

[592] *Moseushi (M)* 11 houses; of which one was inhabited by a widow (M10) living alone, another by an old widower, the headman (M3), with whom lived his son (M14) with wife and children. The remaining 9 houses were occupied each by a simple family. Those houses, belonging to the local group collectively called Moseushi, stood scattered at long intervals along the river Shikaripet. Farthest upstream near Sarunnai stood M7's house; about 2 miles lower came M9's; about 2 miles farther down, the 3 houses of M14, his sister Aresam and her spouse, and another sister of his and her hudband (M8). Then at Moseushi, about 100 to 130 yards yet farther down, came the remaining 6 houses. 7 male inhabitants of 6 out of the 11 houses (M3, 14, 17, 19, 7, 8 and 9) were linked by patrilineal kinship, being all descendants through males from Asahikawa natives on the river Ishikari. The remaining 3 household heads (M21, 22 and 25) were descended through male lines from an ancient Tokapchi Ainu and were sons of two brothers who had come from Kuttarashi to Moseushi, where they married local women. The Moseushi headman at the date was M3, a native of Asahikawa, the only information about whom

[Errata: the word "hudband" should read "husband"--Analyst]

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is as follows. There was at Moseushi a native headman who died without any brother or son to succeed him. Then M3, who had come from Asahikawa and married here, was made *utaru sapaha*, head of the people on account of his wisdom and personality. 601 621

1. Either the man himself or his father was native of Asahikawa in Ishikari and came migrating to Tokapchi and married a Moseushi woman. He and N1 were patrilineally related.
2. Female; native of Moseushi.
3. Native of Asahikawa. The then headman. Came to Tokapchi, married a Kuttarashi woman and then became headman of Moseushi. His wife having already been dead, lived with his son (M14). Patrilineal relative of M5 and others. See N3.
4. Female; native of Kuttarashi.
5. An eldest son; native of Shikaripet; had lived from infancy at Asahikawa. Detailed circumstances not known.
6. Female; native of Satnai and grew up at Shikaripet. For more information see note on N15.
7. 8 and 9. All native residents of Shikaripet.
10. Female; native of Moseushi. Married to K34, a man from Kuttarashi. Widowed, she now lived alone in a separate house by her son's.
11. Female; native of Shikaripet. Married to a man from Kuttarashi K36 and lived at Moseushi.
14. "Ottena" in charge of negotiation with Japanese authorities. See N9.
15. Went as bride to the neighbouring Otopuke river area.
18. Went from Shikaripet to be wife of a Kuttarashi man (K18). Her father M5, as reported, had lived from infancy at Asahikawa; but it is not known whether he later came back to Shikaripet or not.
20. The only one of her siblings that married.
23 and 24. Both brothers married women of Memroput on the middle Tokapchi and lived there; 25 alone was at Moseushi.

24 Explanation of the genealogical chart concerning the Satnai river area.

Three local groups, each forming a single settlement group, made a corporate *shine ekashi ikiru* or *shine itokpa* group. Nupokomap contained 9 houses, Urekarip 3 and Munhunki 3. Four house-heads out of nine of Nupokomap ST10, 18, 29's husband and 30's, one out of three of Urekarip (ST13's husband and one out of three of Munhunki (ST27) were patrilineal kin descending from a common ancestor from Satnai. All the headmen in the Satnai river area were drawn from these particular kinsmen, those of Nukopomap, Urekarip and Munhunki being ST10, ST13's husband and ST27 respectively.

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1. Male; native of Asahikawa on the Ishikari. A relative of N2, another Asahikawa man.
2. Female; native and resident of Asahikawa.
3. Male; native of Urekarip. Son of a man from the area of the Tottapet, tributary of the river Satnai.
4. Female; native of Satnai.
5. Son of a man from Tottapet in Satnai.
6. Came as bride from Fushiko.

7 and 8. Both natives of Asahikawa; the man and wife came originally with ST9 as escorts and helpers when she came as bride from 'far-off Shikaripet' to Satnai. They remained and settled down by the side of ST9's.

9. Came from Shikaripet as bride. For reasons not known, went back to Shikaripet, where she died.
10. Male; had always been in Satnai. Reported as the then first headman in all the Satnai area.
12. Came as bride from Perutnai on the Shikata near the Tokapchi seacoast. She was first married to ST11, on whose death she went home to Perutnai taking her children. When she returned to Satnai, was wife of ST31.
13. Female; native of Satnai.
14. Male; probably from Pipairu.
16. Went to Pipaushi as bride. On her spouse's death at Pipaushi, came home to Satnai with her two children (ST33 and 34) and lived at Nupokomap. At the date was living by herself.
17. Male; had always been in Satnai; resident thereof.
19. Male; had always been in Satnai.

20 and 21. Probably native of Pipaushi, with homes there.

23. Male from Fushiko.
24. Native of Satnai.
25. Soon after marriage moved with his wife to her home, Otopuke, at about the time when Ushino, my informant, also moved from Nitmap to Kene, at the outset of the farming-land allotment programme for the Ainu.
26. Female; came as bride from the Otopuke river area.
28. Went to Fushiko on the middle Tokapchi as bride.
29. Came as bride from Shikaripet.
30. Came as bride from Perutnai near the coast of Tokapchi.
31. An only child.
34. Native of Pipaushi; his father having died in his infancy, grew up in Satnai which was his mother's home, and married there. Changed

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wives. Several times came to Nitmap to join bear ceremonies but his *kotan* is not clearly identified. 601 621

35. Eldest of brothers and sisters. Went in marriage to the Otopuke area and died young. Was outlived by 3 brothers, Ikuchishi, Fushine and Irusanke, who were all unmarried at the date.
36. Had always been in Satnai.
37. Came as bride from Chirokto on the middle Tokapchi.
38. Male; had always been in Satnai. He and ST37 were brothers. Having lost one child, lived childless.
39. Came as bride from Fushiko on the middle Tokapchi.
40. Probably native of Pipaushi. Siblings unknown. Had 6 daughters and 1 son.
41. Female; native of Fushiko.
42. Male; native of Satnai.
43. Female from Fushiko.
44. Female; native of Satnai.
45. Came from Fushiko as bride.

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Isontomam and his family.—Isontomam, another bear-hunter, formed no hunting group with other families; he went alone on any bear-hunting expedition. As far as my informant Ushino observed when at Nitatap, he was the only man in all Pipaushi that captured and reared bear cubs. During summer when he was drafted at some Japanese fishing ground on the sea-coast, his wife Ueashi and his children carried on cherry salmon fishing in the Sahorun staying at a hut in company with Chiokatupa's family and building weirs with them.

43 Coastal people and coastal settlements.—Of the Ainu groups on the Pacific coasts of Hokkaido surveyed by the present writer, the *pishun kotan* (coastal settlements) were the only ones that voluntarily and regularly practised sea fishing (Note 53). The word *pishun* means 'being at the seashore' but is here of nominal application. Like the *kimun utaru* of *kimun kotan* (interior settlements), these people dwelled on river courses and their fishing activities extending to the sea were oriented primarily to the river (WATANABE, 1954).

The *pishun utaru* lived in groups in one or more settlements situated on the lowermost reaches of rivers close to the estuary (Note 10). On the eve of the farming land allotments there was a *pishun kotan* in the Azuma valley, which formed itself a local group and shine itokpa group. Shortly after in the Mukawa valley there were two *pishun kotan* local groups (Imoppe and Chin) and in the Saru valley at about the same period there were three (Nina, Sarupa and Piraga) at least which constituted a local group respectively. The three *pishun kotan* in Saru and the two in Mukawa formed probably a shine itokpa group respectively. Evidence shows that between the coastal and the interior people in the same or adjacent valleys intermarriages took place and through the affinal relations social intercourse was maintained on private and family levels by reciprocating calls and sending gifts. No evidence is available to prove, however, that even in the same valley the local group cores of the coastal and interior peoples ever represented the member sections of one *ekashi ikiru*, patrilineal kin group of males. Nor is it clear if local groups of the same river *pish un utar* ever formed more than one *shine itokpa* group.

44 1. Japanese bush-warbler, Horeites cantans, appears in the plains in early spring, migrating to hills in the breeding season from April to August; in Hokkaido its warbling begins in about the last part of March (KIYOSU, 1952, Vol. II, pp. 250-2).

2. Himalayan cuckoo, Cuculus saturatus, crosses over to Japan in the period from the middle part of April to the early part of May, migrating to

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621 423 (47) About the territory jointly maintained by the local group.—"Hokkaidō Kyū-dojin" (The Former Natives of Hokkaido), published in 1911 by the Hokkaido government, informs, "Although no definite boundary marked off one *kotan* territory from another, its area of fishing and hunting was apparently more or less clearly defined" (Quoted in SASAKI, 1927, p. 25). TAKAKURA remarks that the *kotan* or a group of *kotan* had a hunting or fishing ground in common for all its members to utilize freely and that trespass by non-members was forbidden by penalty of atonement, *ashimpe* (TAKAKURA, 1942, p. 21). He also quotes an Ainu as informing, "Areas for deer and bear hunting as well as for fishing were marked off. Natives of a *kotan* were not to hunt or fish elsewhere than in their own area or territory. Anyone that dared to do so was punished immediately" (Ibid., p. 21). The last-cited information closely resembles the accounts heard by the present writer from a good many informants. Such, for example, was the abstract and generalized information picked up in the earlier stage of his interviews: "For both hunting and fishing each *kotan* had its own restricted area"; "Fishing grounds were customarily marked off for different *kotan*"; "In front of one's *kotan* was its fishing ground"; "Each *kotan* had its own area for deer and bear hunting"; "From the time of our great-grandfathers or great-great-grandfathers each *kotan* had had a dale of its own for bear hunting"; "Formerly each *kotan* had its own *iworu*, hunting ground"; "Bear hunters protected their respective *iworu* (p. 70; Note 58) as their own"; etc. [685]

[192] On further analysis of these generalizations in the light of both the habitat and the actual gathering activities performed in it, it will be seen that after all the word *kotan* is used in two ways: a local group as a whole in reference to a fishing ground and a cooperative group as a constituent unit of a settlement, *kotan*, in reference to a hunting ground. Actually, the fishing ground or territory for each *kotan* was the named spawning grounds of dog salmon maintained jointly by the local group (p. 59). Strangely, notwithstanding their extreme importance to Ainu life, spawning grounds as such have received no attention so far from students of the Ainu. The hunting ground of each "*kotan*" as called by the Ainu themselves means actually the bear or deer hunting territory maintained by a cooperative group of males from families usually belonging to the same settlement. For distinction and relationship between the *iworu* as simply an area around a stream and the *iworu* as a hunting territory, see Note 58.

Referring to the Saru valley Ainu, IZUMI reports as follows: "The *iworu* (i.e. territory of the Saru people), as the arena of their daily life, is divided among and occupied by a certain number of *kotan* (villages)....It is probibited to enter the *iwor* of any other *kotan* than one's own without permission, except the *ru* (public way)" (IZUMI, 1951, p. 29 and Map 2 on p. 32). As in-

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vestigated by the present writer, however, there is no evidence to show a division of the *iworu* as an entire river group territory into a number of sub-*iworu* each occupied by one of the constituent local groups and controlled for all exploitative activities conducted within the boundary, though it is certain that their gathering sites except bear-hunting grounds were concentrated around each own *kotan*. MUNRO shows a diagram representing the principle of assigning fishing and hunting rights among the Saru Ainu (MUNRO, 1962, p. 156).

(48) The information was given by Kazari from Otopuke.

*The people of Opchapet and Ichanpet settlements, located between Wop and Nipushipet and both belonging to the upper local group, exploited the spawning grounds at the junctions of the Opchapet and Ichanpet glens respectively; but to all appearances the grounds had no specific names. Spawning beds there were so few and scattered that they went to the concentration or ground exploited regularly by the neighbouring Kamaune group or by permission to that of Nipushipet group farther downstream.

** The spawning ground at the junction of the Otopuke, Otopuke-*putu un ichanuni*, came off last in season in the whole river course (for the distribution of the spawning grounds as related to their time of occurrence, see Note 28). During the last week or so of the season, between the closing on the upper stream and that on the whole, this ground was exploited every year by people of the settlements lower than Nupushipet, i.e. the lower local group. They went there by night and speared by torch lights. In the day time they found it difficult to spear the fish hiding in deep places. It must be noticed that customarily each family of the lower local group sent to each family of the upper local group a gift of one, two or three fish from out of their catch, according to the size of the recipient family.

(49) The information on the spawning grounds of the Memroputu group except those at Chepotpiuka, and of the Fushikopet, Furemem and Ponsatnai groups, was given by Ritu Yoshine from Fushiko, and that on the rest by Ushino from Nitmap.

* The spawning ground at Kapotpira was the territory of the Pipaushi group; it seems, however, that some members of the Nitmap group also came to fish there.

** The Sanenkoro group had only one spawning ground of their own on the main stream; they intensively utilized three other spawning grounds on the Sahorun, a tributary, claiming them as their fishing territory.

*** Ushino from Nitmap could name two other spawning grounds concerning the group: Shupusan-*putu un ichan* (ca. 100 yds) and Kiusan-*putu*

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un ichan (ca. 100 yds). These relatively small spawning grounds on the Memro, a tributary to the Tokapchi, were exploited habitually by the Memro-putu group in time of a rise of the main stream; it is, however, not clearly known whether or not they had a claim to these.

50 In regard to the Satnai, it is not known whether Munhunki group, a settlement and a local group, had any spawning ground of their own. My informant, Ushino, from Nitmap could not name any more spawning grounds on the Satnai than those mentioned in the text, which she actually visited in company with some of her kinsmen in Satnai, though to all appearances there were some more.

51 The following information on the named spawning grounds on the lowest course of the Saru given by Mopi from Nina, one of the *pishun kotan* (p. 62) of the valley, is based on her direct observations and experiences in the period covering some years from the time of the land-allotment downward. There are some evidences that even in those days, at least these settlements and the local groups on the lowest course respectively remained in approximately the same area as before and continued to practise dog salmon fishing, controlling the spawning grounds by means of ritual observances similar to those described in pp. 72-73.

Named Spawning Grounds on the Lower Saru
(in descending order of location)

Name of Spawning Ground	Group Exploiting Regularly	Controlling Body
Panke-piraturu-putu Un Ichan*	Piraturu settlement group	Piraturu group as local group
Penke-nina-putu Un Ichan	Nina settlement group	Nina group as local group
Apka Un Ichan	Sarupa settlement group	Sarupa group as local group
Shira-putu Un Ichan**	" "	(?)

* The Piraturu group seems to have controlled several other grounds besides this, which was their best.

** This ground also seems to have been controlled by the Sarupa group, but it is not certain.

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family and he had been in Japanese service since an early age, which circumstance had made his knowledge of the bear rite insufficient for a chief priest. The duty on this occasion had accordingly been commissioned to Kawasaki who had caught the cub, but something or other prevented him from taking up the duty, which finally went to old Teshi of Kutcharo. Of all the eight *inau* offered to the bear-spirit the most important were the two fixed to the forked ends of the pole set up at the outdoor altar and supporting the bear's skull. These carried Ōno's ancestor mark, *ekashi itokpa*, which also marked other two of the remaining six set up on both outer sides. Of the rest two had the *itokpa* of Kawasaki and one that of Tosa. The person who offered the remaining one is not mentioned. NATORI did not give any information about the kinship relation between those persons who offered the *inau* and that between their *kotan*; however, it is interesting to see that the ancestor marks of all those persons share a common design element but differ from each other in the total pattern (ibid., p. 131, Fig. 39).

NATORI states that though presided over by a chief priest, the Ainu bear ceremony was no family affair but a joint observance of the whole local membership. In the days when the headman was the indisputed centre of authority, every bear cub taken was brought to him and every bear killed on a hunt received due rites in his presence (ibid., p. 131).

68) INUKAI and NATORI is the only writers who have supplied information on the frequency of the bear festival. He points out that in spite of many writers describing the ceremony as if it were a sort of calendar custom in the Ainu *kotan*, there can be no bear ceremony in a *kotan* in the year when no cub is taken; that since different households in the same *kotan* may capture cubs in different years, it is natural that different families perform the festival in different years; that in some years one family may ritually kill two or three cubs at a time (INUKAI and NATORI, 1939, p. 255). These points have been confirmed in his surveys by the present writer. Usually, a cub caught in the spring was killed at the ceremony early in the following year. Sometimes one was kept for two or three years before it was killed. The development of the bear-rearing custom among the Ainu as described above naturally had for its requisite more or less surplus production of food stuffs. The stability of the settlement should be counted among other factors.

69) In the *kamuinomi*-ritual he[1] was required to offer *ashimpe* to the *kamui* concerned. The *ashimpe* in this case might include, besides *inau*-sticks, some items regarded by the Ainu as the best of their treasures, *ikoro*, such as *tuki* and *shintoko*, lacquer wares imported from Japan. Such *ikoro* were offered to local *kamui* concerned also in case of getting permission in advance of

1, [i.e., a person who was apprenhended while trespassing in the territory of another river group--Analyst]